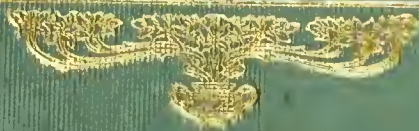


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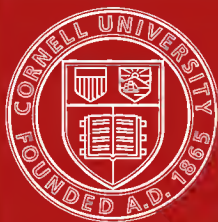
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THE STORY OF OLD KINGSTON.

TO THE MEMORY OF
THE GOOD MEN AND TRUE, WHO BUILT UP
OLD KINGSTON;
AND TO ALL CITIZENS OF TO-DAY WHO FOLLOW THEIR
TRADITIONS AND EXAMPLE
THESE PAGES ARE CORDIALLY INSCRIBED.

Reginald Maule Maichar



ROBERT RENÉ CAVALIER DE LA SALLE.
First Seigneur of Cataraqui and Commandant of Fort Frontenac.

The Story of Old Kingston



BY

AGNES MAULE MACHAR

Author of "Lays of the True North," "Stories of New France,"
"Marjorie's Canadian Winter,"
"Roland Graeme, Knight," etc., etc.

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PREFACE.

It has been said that "they know not England who only England know." On the same principle, we cannot be said really to *know* our own time, unless we know something of the events that preceded it and helped to determine its character. To a community, the consciousness of its past gives the sense of continuity which is the principle of its collective life and the nurse of its patriotism.

Fifty years ago Canada was a young, comparatively undeveloped country, hardly conscious of possessing a history. The romance and adventure of the early days of French Canada were to our fathers a sealed book, and the more recent history of British Canada seemed almost to belong to "current events." But now the researches of historians and Historical Societies have placed within our reach the varied treasures of our past, with its noble achievement and adventure; its struggles and privations; its conflicts and its gains. And we know that Kingston in particular has a story of which she may well be proud, and which all her citizens should know. Nurtured in sacrifice and hardship, inured to repeated disappointments, she has proved the "uses of adversity" in teaching lessons of steadfastness and energy, which have developed her growing life and moulded her still plastic institutions. Her history is now for the first time presented as a connected whole, and as it is so interwoven with that

Preface.

of the country, the background of contemporary events has been indicated in the following pages sufficiently to make the story they contain intelligible to readers who may not be familiar with our past history. But as the "Story" is of "Old Kingston," the persons and events of the present generation have not been touched upon, except so far as was necessary to complete the story of the past. It may well be hoped that the future of the modern city will prove worthy of the staunch and high-minded founders of the old town of an earlier age, in holding fast its honourable traditions of honest work, steadfastness of purpose, reverence of spirit, and loyalty to duty and the good of the community.

The author desires heartily to acknowledge obligations to the works of Margry, Mahan, Parkman, McMullen, Dent, Canniff, and other Canadian authors; to the Life and Letters of the Hon. Richard Cartwright, the Essay of C. W. Cooper, the Records of the Ontario Historical Society, and to valuable historical articles in the *Queen's Quarterly*.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER.	PAGE.
PREFACE.....	5
I. THE FOUNDING OF FORT FRONTENAC.....	9
II. FORT FRONTENAC UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME....	24
III. THE FALL OF FORT FRONTENAC.....	40
IV. THE COMING OF THE LOYALISTS.....	54
V. SETTLEMENT AND EARLY DAYS.....	66
VI. NAVAL AND MILITARY CENTRE AND FIRST SEAT OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT	82
VII. THE CLOUD OF WAR.....	99
VIII. TO ARMS!.....	111
IX. NAVAL EXPEDITIONS FROM KINGSTON.....	127
X. AFTER THE WAR.....	143
XI. A GROWING TIME.....	161
XII. A POLITICAL CRISIS.....	179
XIII. KINGSTON AS THE CAPITAL OF CANADA.....	200
XIV. AN EDUCATIONAL CENTRE.....	222
XV. CHURCHES AND CHARITIES.....	246
XVI. SIXTY YEARS AGO.....	266

APPENDICES.

DEGREE GRANTING TO LA SALLE THE SEIGNIORY OF CATARAQUI.
LIST OF MAYORS OF KINGSTON.

The Story of Old Kingston.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDING OF FORT FRONTENAC.

The period of two centuries and a quarter—though falling far short of what is considered antiquity in the Old World—constitutes a somewhat venerable age in the one we distinctively style the “New.” On a continent where the vestiges of even a moderate antiquity are few and far between—where the most ancient traces of European civilisation are little older than three centuries—the citizens of Kingston may justly claim the honours of age for their loyal old city, whose site, during two hundred years—as Cataraqui, Fort Frontenac, or Kingston,—has played an important part in the history of Canada,—ranking, in military importance, next to Quebec itself.

It is not easy to call up a mental picture of the Canada of two hundred years ago: since the country we know by that name to-day had, save in its natural conformation, no existence. New France, or “Canada,” as it was by that time generally known, was little more than a line of scattered settlements along the banks of the St. Lawrence. In order to realise its aspect as it was then, we must sweep away, in imagination, the busy and substantial cities of the

The Story of Old Kingston.

present, the towns and villages, the harbours and shipping, the roads and railways, and conjure up in their stead a vision of the trackless forest wilderness, the haunt of the deer, the wolf and the beaver, as well as the battlefield of the fierce wandering tribes that waged a no less destructive warfare with each other than with the wild beasts of the forest.

The relative position of British America must also, in some degree, be reversed in our mental picture. For *Nouvelle France*, under the Most Catholic King, Louis Quatorze, occupied nearly the same territory with our Eastern Canada, while the north-eastern portion of the United States—so far as it had then been explored—was claimed by the English and Dutch, and held by their garrisons. The period at which our "Story" begins is July, 1673—the thirtieth year of the reign of Louis XIV., and the thirteenth after the restoration of the Stuart dynasty—little more than a century after the "men of the Mayflower" had landed on Plymouth Rock. Boston and New York were as yet little more than villages, and Quebec and Montreal only insignificant hamlets defended by palisaded forts.

On the morning of July twelfth—a date to be remembered by Kingstonians—the observant crow, hovering over the blue St. Lawrence, a few miles below Kingston, or the contemplative crane, fishing solitary on some tufted rock, beheld a strange flotilla, unlike any before seen amid these sylvan solitudes, emerging from the devious mazes of the Thousand Isles. Canoes, manned by French soldiers, and gaily painted *bateaux* led the way; then came large war-canoes, filled with imposing figures in glittering French uniforms, amid whom might easily have been

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

distinguished the stately figure and clear-cut features of the Great Ononchio, Count Frontenac himself. On either side came another squadron of canoes, one filled with French soldiers and one with Indian allies, while two others, following as a rear-guard, closed the martial cortège. The Governor himself, as we are told in the Journal of the expedition written by the Abbé D'Urfé, had carefully arranged the order of approach, with a view, undoubtedly, to the impression he hoped to make on the savage mind.

But why had the dignified French Viceroy undertaken, with such a retinue, an expensive and tedious voyage from the rock of Quebec to the outlet of Lake Ontario—an almost unknown point in the midst of unbroken wilderness? And why was he so desirous of impressing a gathering of roaming Indians with the power and prestige of his country? For the answer we need only recall the circumstances in which the gallant "Pioneers of France in the New World" had been, for more than a century, struggling with the adverse forces of Nature and human savagery, in order to establish the colony of New France on a stable foundation.

In the seventeenth century the supremacy of North America was still actively contested by the three great nations which had shared in the honour of its discovery. Spain, fortified by a papal bull, had early pre-empted a vast southern region under the name of Florida; the *Fleur-de-Lis* floated over a great northern area, styled New France; and Great Britain, with adventurous Dutchmen by her side, was pressing her way inwards from her chain of settlements on the eastern seaboard. Between the latter, especially, competition was naturally keen for the "sinews of war,"

The Story of Old Kingston.

i.e., the fur trade, then the mainstay of any northern colony.

The ferocious Iroquois, or Five Nations, were, through their geographical position on the water-shed of north-flowing rivers, the chief purveyors of this important traffic in the northern area occupied by the French, Dutch and English settlers. They had long been the scourge and terror of New France, and though a temporary check had been imposed on their destructive raids by the brave Daulac and his gallant comrades of the "Canadian Thermopylae," a border warfare had for years harassed the European settlements. A punitive expedition, conducted by the Marquis de Tracy, temporary Viceroy, and the Governor, De Courcelles, had, in 1666, made a descent upon the Iroquois country, and, without coming to a single engagement, had so intimidated the savages that they were ready to conclude a truce, which lasted for almost a quarter of a century, affording New France a breathing-time in which to develop and expand her resources.

In pursuance of such development, the Governor, De Courcelles, recognised the importance of securing for New France a larger share of the fur trade, which the English and Dutch settlers naturally sought to draw to the southward of lake and river. The shrewd Intendant Talon had, in 1670, suggested to Louis XIV. the expediency of planting two outposts—one on the north and one on the south shore of Lake Ontario—which might serve at once as a check on the Iroquois and as *depôts* for fur-trading; and the building of a small vessel to cruise between them and intercept the Indians on their way to the rival settlements. The commanding site, now occupied by the City of King-

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

ston, at the "meeting of the waters," where the St. Lawrence emerges from Lake Ontario, and the winding Cataraqui joins and swells its broader stream, had previously attracted the attention of pioneer explorers. In 1671 De Courcelles, then Governor, made a canoe voyage up the St. Lawrence, and, as the Memoir of his expedition informs us, arrived at the mouth of Lake Ontario, which appeared "as an open sea without bound." Apparently he reached the vicinity of Kingston, if we may judge from the following observation:

"The Governor remarked at this place a stream bordered by fine land, where there is sufficient water to float a large bark. This remark will be of use hereafter"—a statement justified by subsequent history. The result of his visit was a recommendation to his successor to establish an outpost in that vicinity.

We shall not transgress the bounds of probability in connecting this visit to the site of Fort Frontenac with the remarkable personality who was to be for years to come its commander and animating spirit, as well as the Seignior of the surrounding country. Robert René Cavelier de La Salle—to give him his full title—is the figure that most strongly impresses the imagination in the history of this epoch, and connects the early history of the "Limestone City" with the discovery of the great South and West, claimed by him for France under the name of Louisiana. This young Norman had arrived in New France in 1666, animated by the passion for discovery and the enthusiasm of the explorer, and had become possessed by the desire to find the long dreamed-of water-way through the continent to remote Cathay and the rich treasures of the Orient. He had been

The Story of Old Kingston.

greatly attracted by the accounts received from wandering Indians, of the course of the Mississippi, and the rich regions through which it flowed, and began to regard it as the true water-way to the East, and to concentrate his aims and efforts on tracing its course, colonising its banks, and adding a vast and fertile region, open to the sea, to the realms of France. He had been a companion of the Friars Galinée and Dollier de Casson on the exploring tour of the lakes, from which De Courcelles had derived the information that led to his own voyage; and it is probable that the suggestion of a fortified *depôt* at the eastern end of Lake Ontario had originated with him. It was certainly a much more convenient base for his projected voyages of discovery than his first Seigniorship of Lachine, so called, we are told, in derision of its master's dream of finding a short-cut to China.

When the energetic Count Frontenac succeeded De Courcelles in the government of Canada, he had been attracted by the enterprise and enthusiasm of the young Norman, whose nature was in many ways akin to his own; and he had readily lent a favouring ear to the far-reaching projects which had already taken definite shape in the mind of Cavelier. Pre-disposed to consider any proposals for extending the power of France in the New World, and to fulfil the recommendation of his predecessor, and finding that Cavelier had already explored much of the region about the Great Lakes, he sent him on in advance to make a final reconnaissance of the site for the new outpost, as well as to conciliate the surrounding Iroquois and prepare the way for its establishment.

Meantime he began to muster men and canoes for his expedition, and as funds were lacking and he

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

would not run the risk of awaiting the result of an application to the king, which might have proved unfavourable, he had recourse to the Seigniors settled on both sides of the St. Lawrence, whom he invited to join his retinue, supplying, of course, a contingent of men and canoes. Arriving at Montreal with a somewhat imposing following, he was received with due ceremony, and made a halt long enough to secure two *bateaux* gaily painted in Indian style, and other necessary supplies. These were duly portaged to La Salle's old settlement of Lachine, where he embarked at the head of one hundred and twenty canoes, carrying a martial force of four hundred men, including friendly Hurons and Algonquins, the *bateaux* bearing the supplies of food, as well as the cannon and necessary stores for the journey and the building of the proposed fort.

The season was the loveliest of the Canadian year, when the summer is at its prime, the forest gay with fresh verdure, the coverts vocal with the joyous songs of birds, and the air filled with delicious floating fragrance. But the expedition was no holiday excursion; though we may not linger to follow it through the long succession of toilsome portages, as one foaming rapid after another impeded its progress, dashing silvery wave-crests against the dark rocks that bristled with interlacing hemlock and pine. When the *bateaux* could not be portaged they had to be pushed on, literally "by force of arms," against the strong sweep of the current. When the mighty surges of the Long Sault barred their course, the men had to stand waist-deep in the water, though keeping close to the shore, as they breasted the strong, dashing waves. It was an arduous undertaking, but Frontenac knew how to

encourage and spur on his men to success, and did not disdain, at times, to share the toil, standing knee-deep in the raging stream. Heavy rains, unusual at that season, impeded their course, damping the spirits as well as the clothing of the voyagers; and Frontenac, bivouacked with his men on the shore, passed sleepless nights from anxiety lest the water should have found its way into the *bateaux* and spoiled the biscuit which formed the staple of the provisions.

At length, however, the laborious ascent was completed, and at the head of the rapids Frontenac received a message from La Salle, designating the mouth of the Cataragui as the place where the approaching conference should be held. From thence the flotilla glided, under a cloudless July sun, over calm waters and through the mazes of what seemed a fairy archipelago, studded with rocky islets, clustered thickly on a sapphire lake, some rising, like weather-beaten fortresses, out of the water, others luxuriant bowers of foliage, seeming to nestle in the placid stream, mirrored in the still waters that lapped their shores. Passing through a seemingly endless succession of these fairy isles, the expedition at length reached the end of the "*Lac des Iles des Rochers*," and saw, far before them, the blue expanse of the apparently shoreless lake. The Abbe D'Urfé was sent on in advance to notify the assembled Indians of the approach of the expedition, which was now arranged by Frontenac in the order which has been described. As the flotilla neared the promontory now crowned by the British Fort Henry, a canoe was seen advancing, containing a deputation of Iroquois Chiefs, accompanied by the Abbé, to escort the strangers to the appointed rendezvous, which at once impressed them

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

with its advantageous position and its picturesque surroundings of summer verdure and sapphire lake and stream. Around them stretched a spacious harbour, cut off from the broad breast of Lake Ontario by a chain of large islands, where the lake narrows into the river and is joined by the narrower stream of the Cataragui, winding its way out from a succession of lakes, cascades and still river-reaches—now made navigable by the Rideau Canal—and forming here, by its wide *embouchure*, a quiet bay and sheltered port. The sylvan solitude was as yet unbroken, and the dense green woods that clothed the gently sloping shore were still undisturbed, save by the wigwams of the Indian encampment. But the approaching flotilla was the harbinger of inevitable change.

The meeting which now took place between the great "Ononthio" (as the Governor was styled by the Indians), and the representatives of the Iroquois, and the "civilities" exchanged are thus quaintly described in the Journal of the expedition:

"They saluted the Admiral (Governor) and paid their respects to him with evidence of much joy and confidence, testifying to him the obligation they were under to him for sparing them the trouble of going further, and for receiving their submissions at the River Katarakoui, as they were about signifying to him.

"After Count Frontenac had replied to their civilities, they preceded him as guides and conducted him into a bay about a cannon-shot from the entrance, which forms one of the most beautiful and agreeable harbours in the world, capable of holding a hundred

*"Ononthio," the Iroquois designation of the Governors of New France, signifies Great Mountain, being the Indian rendering of the name of Montmagny, one of the early Viceroy's.

The Story of Old Kingston.

of the largest ships, with sufficient water at the mouth and in the harbour, with a mud bottom, and so sheltered from every wind that a cable is scarcely necessary for mooring."

The task of disembarkation was quickly begun; the Indians, from their encampment close at hand, looking on with characteristic passivity, while some of the more venerable Sachems approached to do homage to the august Ononthio, whose office and power La Salle had taken every opportunity to magnify. All formalities were, however, postponed until the next morning, and as it was still early in the day, Frontenac set out to explore the vicinity for himself, not returning until dusk. The French encampment was by that time completed, guards being, of course, set with punctilious ceremony, while the *Fleur-de-Lis* floated proudly above the Governor's tent, and martial music for the first time awoke the slumbering echoes of the spot.

On the following morning—the thirteenth of July, 1673—the *reveillé*, with the beating of drums, aroused the French camp to the important work of the day, for Iroquois Councils were early functions. A double line of soldiers under arms formed a living lane from the Governor's tent to the Iroquois camp, to impress the deputies who marched, with grave and dignified mien, to the place of conference—an area carpeted with sail-cloth before Frontenac's tent, where burned the orthodox camp-fire, making a centre for the meeting as well as warding off the insect intruders. Here the envoys, in their robes of state, were duly presented to the Governor and his suite, imposing in their brilliant gold-laced uniforms and aristocratic bearing, Frontenac himself hardly needing any accessories to

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

enhance the native dignity of his commanding face and figure.

After the first salutations, there followed, according to Indian custom, a period of silence, while the Chiefs squatted on the canvas carpet, smoking their pipes with imperturbable serenity. At length the conference was opened by a speech from the Chief Garakontié, known to be friendly to the French, expressing, with profuse compliments, the pleasure and respect with which the new Ononthio was welcomed among them, on behalf of the five Iroquois nations for whom he undertook to speak. At the close of his harangue, Frontenac, with the paternal air so well adapted to the Indian nature, began his own address as follows:

“Children, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas! I am glad to meet you here, where I have had a fire lighted for you to smoke by, and for me to talk to you. You have done well, my children, to obey the command of your Father. Take courage! You will hear his word, which is full of peace and tenderness. For do not think that I have come for war. My mind is full of peace, and she walks by my side. Courage then, children, and take rest!”

Then followed a generous gift of tobacco, more promises to be a kind father to them as obedient children, and another presentation—this time of guns to the men and prunes and raisins to the women and children. Thus closed what was but a preliminary conference. The great Council was to meet on a future day.

It would be interesting to know and mark the exact spot where this important meeting took place; but we may not be far wrong in supposing it to have been

The Story of Old Kingston.

in the near vicinity of what was afterwards, and perhaps then, called Mississauga Point, near the foot of the present Earl street, where the Indian encampment was probably situated. It could not have been very near the site of Fort Frontenac, because, even while the conference was proceeding and the savages were being entertained with speeches and gifts, Frontenac, with characteristic promptness, had ordered his engineer, Raudin, to survey the ground selected and trace out the ground plan of the projected fort; and as the men of the expedition, under the directing officers, were speedily set to cut down trees, hew palisades and dig trenches, the work of construction was soon rapidly proceeding before the eyes of the astonished Indians, who found their consent already taken for granted. Frontenac, however, spared no trouble to win their favour, and seems to have amused his suite by caressing the little brown children, feasting them with bread and sweetmeats, and ordering an evening banquet for the squaws, that they might entertain the strangers with their native dances, which they were nothing loth to do. By these means he astutely managed to divert their attention from his military designs, and secured his own popularity among them. Four busy days passed, during which the building of the fort was well advanced, and then the Grand Council was summoned, with due state and ceremony, when, after a repetition of the former preliminaries, the Ononchio, in his grand manner, again addressed his Indian children.

He began by repeating his satisfaction that they had obeyed their Father's command in repairing to this rendezvous in order to hear what he had to say. He then briefly exhorted them to embrace the Chris-

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

tian religion, which he doubtless sincerely desired, and not solely on account of their own spiritual interests. And after calling their attention to the strength and power of his armed escort, and the guns of the *bateaux* moored close by, he continued his oration in the grandiloquent terms congenial to both speaker and hearers:

“If your Father can come so far, with so great a force, through such dangerous rapids, merely to make you a visit of pleasure and friendship, what would he do if you should awaken his anger and make it necessary for him to punish his disobedient children? He is the arbiter of peace and war. Beware how you offend him!” Furthermore, he warned them strongly against molesting the Indian allies of the French, any attempt at which would bring down a swift chastisement.

He then, with cautious diplomacy, proceeded to the matter in hand, explaining, with many expressions of regard, that he was about to build a storehouse or *depôt* there, at which they would be able to barter their furs for the things they required without being obliged to undertake a long and dangerous journey. They must not, however, listen to the misrepresentations of bad men, who, for their own interest, would delude and deceive them, but must give heed only to men of character like the *Sieur de La Salle*. Finally he closed a long oration by asking that they should entrust him with a number of their children to be educated at Quebec, so that in time they and his French nephews might grow into one people.

The profusion of presents which accompanied this address, along with its friendly tone of paternal consideration, secured for it a good reception, though the

The Story of Old Kingston.

Indians expressed a natural desire to know what prices would be given for the furs, in goods, at the new *dépôt*. They promised, on their return to their villages, to consider the proposal concerning their children, and a few of these were eventually sent to Quebec to be educated—the girls in the Ursuline Convent, the boys in the household of the Governor himself.

After three days more of feasting and friendly intercourse, the Iroquois broke up their camp, and the great majority embarked in their canoes and disappeared beyond the neighbouring islands, on their way to their villages to the southward. By the time that the primitive palisaded wall of the fort was set up, and the barracks of rough logs well advanced towards completion, a belated band of Iroquois from the north of the Great Lakes and the villages on the Bay of Quinté, arrived to hold a similar “pow-wow” with the Ononthio. He had already sent a large part of his expedition home in detachments, and when the second division of Indians had taken their departure, duly propitiated with presents and “*belles paroles*,” he himself prepared to embark with his suite for Quebec, after making arrangements for the winter provision of the garrison he left behind to finish and hold the fort. Whether La Salle was present during this important conference is not stated by contemporary narrative, and the presumption would seem to be that he was at the time engaged in propitiating the Iroquois at their homes. At all events, we find him writing to Frontenac from the Iroquois country, in September, that his visit had produced a profound impression on the deputies, who had returned full of satisfaction with his courtesy and generous gifts, and while regretting the poverty of their own, expressed their

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

willingness, as an offset, to comply with his wishes regarding the education of their children.

As he retraced his course down the St. Lawrence, much more swiftly and easily than he had ascended it, Frontenac felt that he had reason to congratulate himself on the success of his expedition. He had accomplished a dangerous voyage without the loss of a single canoe, and, owing to the aid he had enlisted from his own people, the whole work had been accomplished at a cost of about ten thousand livres, advanced by himself on behalf of the king. He had gained from the Iroquois all the concessions he had sought, and wrote to Colbert that "he might boast of having impressed them at once with respect, fear and goodwill;" and that, by means of the new fort, with a vessel already begun, and another fort which he hoped to build at the mouth of the Niagara, the French would command the Upper Lakes—always an essential point for the mastery of Canada. And however opinions might differ as to the commercial value of the new fur depot, however much the Montreal merchants might look askance at it from their point of view, there could be no doubt that in it New France would possess an effectual barrier against Iroquois incursions for years to come.

CHAPTER II.

FORT FRONTENAC UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME.

Although Frontenac had succeeded in building his fort, he was not by any means certain of the approval of his royal master, to whom he diplomatically expressed his readiness to return to Katarakoui to demolish it—should that be His Majesty's desire—with as much pleasure as he had built it. But the new outpost soon demonstrated its usefulness, and even the Montreal merchants became reconciled to it when they found that the following summer brought a largely increased number of Iroquois down the St. Lawrence to dispose of their furs. The first decade of the fort's existence is, however, most intimately connected with the adventures of La Salle and his discovery of the Great West.

On the same day on which Frontenac's second Council was held at Cataraqui—July 17th, 1673—the explorer Louis Joliet, accompanied by the devoted missionary, Père Marquette, having discovered the Mississippi and followed its course as far as they deemed prudent, turned their canoes northward to tell the tale of their success—a tale which drew the mind of La Salle still more strongly to the further exploration of the great mysterious river in the discovery of which he had been thus forestalled. And, in order to carry out the far-reaching projects that filled his imagination, such a base as Fort Frontenac, the new "*depôt* with defences" could supply, was absolutely essential.

Fort Frontenac under the French Regime.

For the task he had set himself, La Salle seemed exceptionally fitted. Chivalrous, brave, enthusiastic, persistent, endowed with indomitable resolution and inexhaustible endurance, with a naturally strong constitution, mental and physical, which had been hardened almost to iron by a novitiate with the Jesuits, it had become his ruling passion to explore the great unknown regions of the vast continent, taking possession of them, after the manner of explorers, in the name of the king of France. His early wanderings to north and west had forced him to give up his original hope of finding a water-way to the east in that direction; and by degrees he concentrated his aims and plans on the great unexplored Mississippi, of whose majestic course through rich and fertile lands he heard so much from wandering Indians. It was still uncertain whether it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico or the Vermilion Sea—i.e., the Gulf of California. In the latter case, it would furnish a water-way to the Orient; in the former, a channel by which the varied wealth of the western continent could be easily conveyed to France. To settle this question, and by colonising the banks of the great river, to establish the rule of France along its course, was now the purpose to which all his energies were to be applied, and all minor success subordinated.

Full of these projects, he sailed for France in the autumn of 1674, with a strong recommendation from Frontenac, and plans too extensive to be impressed in their entirety on a king too pre-occupied with ambitious schemes in Europe to be greatly concerned about the acquisition of a wild continent three thousand miles away. La Salle was, however, well received at Court, and his two formal petitions, accom-

The Story of Old Kingston.

panied by certain offers on his own part, were readily granted. One of these was for a patent of nobility, under the title of De La Salle, in consideration of the services he had already rendered as an explorer; the other for the command of the new fort, named, in honour of its founder, Fort Frontenac, and for the grant of the adjacent land, to be constituted into a Seigniory, with himself as the Seigneur.

The royal grant is dated Compiègne, May, 1675, signed by Louis and Colbert, and confers upon him, not only the command of the fort and four leagues of mainland adjacent, but also two large islands opposite, then called Ganoukoesnot and Kaounesgo, respectively Wolfe and Amherst Islands, with rights of hunting on the said lands, and of fishing in Lake Ontario (or Frontenac) and the adjoining rivers. Certain conditions were attached, the chief of these being that La Salle was to repay the sum expended in the erection of the fort, to rebuild it in stone, and maintain a sufficient garrison, equal to that at Montreal; to employ some fifteen or twenty men for ten years in clearing and improving his land; to remove all his own personal property thither, and form a French colony there, as well as a settlement of domesticated Indians, and, whenever the number of settlers should reach one hundred, to build a church and support one or more resident Friars. By a curious association, Louis the Magnificent, the builder of Versailles, is thus connected with the first primitive log-chapel built on the site of Kingston.

Soon after receiving his grant, La Salle returned to New France, accompanied by a young adventurer named La Forêt, and also having as a fellow-passenger the erratic and versatile Père Hennepin, better fitted

Fort Frontenac under the French Regime.

by nature for an explorer than for an ecclesiastic. Both became La Salle's companions at Fort Frontenac, the former as an efficient lieutenant and helper, the latter, by his own desire, as a resident Friar, undertaking, with another, Luc Buisset, to look after the spiritual interests of the little community. La Salle's relatives and friends, including his worthy merchant cousin, François Plet, had advanced the necessary funds for repaying the sum expended on the fort and for fulfilling his contract to rebuild it in stone, a work which he prosecuted with such diligence, finding abundance of limestone on the spot, that, within two years, the original fort of logs was replaced by a substantial stone fortress, enclosed on the land side by ramparts and bastions of stone, and on the water side by palisades. It stood on nearly the same site as that now occupied by the Tête-de-Pont barracks, its greater length, however, extending westward to what is now the "old Haymarket." Its landward gate was at the north-eastern corner, looking up the River Cataraqui, winding down, as now, between sloping shores, fringed with marshes inhabited by water-fowl, muskrat and beaver. On the river side, the fort and harbour were protected by the long point opposite from the eastern winds, and by the main shore curving southward into a more distinct point than now, from the winds sweeping down the lake from the west. To south and west, hill, headland and long wooded islands hemmed in the bright, lonely expanse of water.

At Fort Frontenac La Salle spent the most tranquil and prosperous years of his strenuous life, finding congenial occupation in the rebuilding of the fort and the construction of small sailing vessels for service on the lake, in the clearing of the land, and the fos-

The Story of Old Kingston.

tering care of his two settlements. He gradually induced a number of his Iroquois friends to settle beside him, and, in course of time, to build for themselves small dwellings after the manner of the French. Here he reigned, in fact, like a feudatory king over his tiny kingdom. His *censitaires* cleared and cultivated the fields; his fort and garrison ensured peace and tranquility for all; his canoe-men were noted for their swiftness and skill, as they plied their paddles in all directions for traffic or for sport, and the white wings of his sailing vessels flecked the blue waters of the lake and brought home finny and furry spoil; while boundless hunting grounds, teeming with game, stretched around him. Here, could his ambition have been satisfied with the rôle of a prosperous Seigneur and commander of an important outpost, he might, to all appearance, have lived a long and peaceful life, year by year amassing wealth from the generous profits of the fur trade.

To La Salle, however, his present position was but a step towards his cherished enterprise. And there were some threatening clouds on the horizon. The merchants of Montreal had, from the first, regarded the new fur dépôt with a jealous eye, though LeBer, one of the most aggressive, seems for a time to have hoped to secure its control. Their well-grounded suspicion, too, that Frontenac was to be a sharer in the profits of the enterprise strengthened their jealousy, and La Salle soon found that he and his patron occupied a more and more isolated position, since LeBer, LeMoyne, and other leading settlers, with the Intendant Duchesneau, were practically forming a "Ring," in which he could expect to find no friends. Furthermore, as the fur traffic, which had hitherto flowed

Fort Frontenac under the French Regime.

chiefly towards the settlements of New England, now began to find its way to Fort Frontenac, it was also partially diverted from some of the far western Jesuit missions which had hitherto drawn a large share of its profits in their vicinity. Complaints found their way to Quebec, and the astute Bishop Laval wrote to France, casting injurious imputations on both Frontenac and La Salle, while the Jesuits did not scruple secretly to undermine the good understanding between the latter and the Iroquois. They insinuated to the savages that their professed friend was strengthening the fort with the intention of making war upon them, even while they were writing to La Salle, in flattering terms, that, as he was their bulwark in that direction, he could not exercise too much vigilance over their Indian allies. In order to allay the uneasiness of the Iroquois, Frontenac came again in state to Fort Frontenac, where he propitiated the assembled savages with gifts, feasts and the "*belles paroles*" which he could use to such advantage, drawing from them the admission that their suspicious attitude had been due to the machinations of the "black-robos." He assured them, on the contrary, that the completed and well-equipped fort would prove a centre of protection and profit to the tribes whose interests it was desired to serve, and expressed the hope that many of his Indian children would come to settle under the shield of its guns, which were mighty to protect as well as to destroy.

But the open opposition at Montreal increased in bitterness, and the secret machinations of the Jesuits continued to embarrass La Salle, sometimes interfering with his control of the garrison by encouraging deserters, until he felt it necessary to revisit Paris in order to vindicate himself and Frontenac from the

The Story of Old Kingston.

charges of his enemies, and to lay his further projects before the king. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1677, he sailed again for France, leaving La Forêt in charge at Fort Frontenac.

There he laid before Colbert a new report and memorial, recounting his discoveries in "the beautiful countries of the west," whose rich fertility he contrasted with the severer conditions of New France, expressing his readiness to further explore and colonise these desirable regions. To this end he asked for the confirmation of his title to Fort Frontenac, and permission to establish, at his own cost, two other posts, with seigniorial rights over all lands which he might discover and colonise within twenty years; and also for a monopoly of trade in buffalo skins, at the same time agreeing to renounce all share in the established fur traffic of the Great Lakes.

In response to this petition he received from the king a patent authorising him, on his own terms, "to labour at the discovery of the western parts of New France" and to build forts at such places as he might think necessary, enjoying possession thereof under the same clauses and conditions as at Fort Frontenac, but making no mention of the project of colonisation, which Louis was not desirous of promoting at such a distance from his own immediate control.

La Salle at once proceeded to secure the men and material required for the building and equipment of a vessel intended to sail down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and for this purpose procured advances of funds from his friends and relatives, while through his loyal friend, the Abbé Renaudot, he found in Prince Armand de Conti an influential patron. Through him he enlisted in his service the brave and

Fort Frontenac under the French Regime.

chivalrous Henri de Tonti, destined to share the lot of his leader through many vicissitudes, loyal and faithful to the last. Accompanied by him, La Motte de Lussière, and some thirty men, he returned to Canada in the following autumn, and spent the winter chiefly at the mouth of the Niagara, directing the building of the new vessel and of a fortified outpost, two miles above the great Cataract, which he and Hennepin visited for the first time with a "fearful joy" which seemed more awe than admiration.

Here, however, the heroic story of La Salle diverges to a great extent from that of Fort Frontenac, though its chivalrous Seignior returned to it from time to time in the course of his strenuous journeys by land and water. During the building of the *Griffin* at Cayuga Creek, and the fort and blockhouse near Niagara, he found himself obliged to undertake, in the depth of winter, a journey of two hundred and fifty miles on foot to Fort Frontenac, through forests deep in snow, or over the frozen lake, in order to replace a large part of the equipment of the new vessel, which had been lost, with the bark that carried it, through the carelessness of the crew. He and his two men had their baggage and provisions drawn on a sled by a dog which accompanied them; but on the way the supplies fell short, and the travellers, after two days' fasting, reached Fort Frontenac in a state of semi-starvation.

It would be too long a digression here to follow La Salle through the devious and weary wanderings of the next eight years, or to recount the tragic succession of misfortunes, beginning with the loss of the newly built *Griffin*, swallowed up, with her valuable cargo of furs, in the stormy waters of Lake Huron,

while he was pushing on westward, building forts as he went. Nevertheless, so indomitable was his spirit, that after countless perils by land and water,—after two most toilsome journeys, chiefly on foot, from the Illinois to Fort Frontenac,—after losses and calamities and persecution which led him on one occasion to exclaim that “all Canada was against him, except only the Governor,”—he finally succeeded in exploring the Mississippi to the sea, taking possession of the vast newly explored territory in the name of Louis XIV., and naming it, after him, Louisiana. Yet notwithstanding this gleam of satisfaction, his career was a tragedy even to its close. For when the success of his great project seemed almost within his grasp, when he had vindicated himself, at the Court of France, from the calumnies of his foes—had been formally authorised to begin the colonisation of Louisiana, and had led his band of colonists by sea to the Gulf of Mexico—by a strange fatality, as it seemed, the tireless explorer, in his anxious search for the mouth of the great river, missed his goal, through ignorance of its longitude, unconsciously sailed past it for some three hundred miles; and finally, in a forlorn hope of finding it, landed his band of settlers on the barren coast of Texas, near Matagorda Bay. There—after losing his three vessels one by one, and the escorting ship having returned to France—he toiled on for two years, under the pressure of accumulated disaster, to find by land the goal he had missed, or at least the Mississippi itself, whereby he might retrace his way to Canada, for needed succour for the stranded remnant of his expedition. It was while undauntedly working his way eastward, on his third and last attempt, that he perished, struck down by the shot of a mutinous

Fort Frontenac under the French Regime.

follower, who, with other miscreants, had just murdered his nephew and servants in a petty squabble, and in desperation, had resolved to despatch their brave leader in order to escape the just punishment they feared. A rude cross in the wilderness, set up by the faithful Friar who witnessed his death, alone marked the last resting place of this dauntless explorer, one of the most heroic figures of early Canadian history, whose far-reaching projects, indomitable perseverance and inexhaustible endurance have led the French historian Margry to characterise him, as Polybius did Hannibal, as "a man whom fate alone was able to subdue." And so, in March, 1687, this brave and patient hero, so closely associated with the first settlement at Cataraqui, finally disappears from the scene, and we turn back to Fort Frontenac and the prominent part which it continued to play during the remainder of the French *régime* in Canada.

While La Salle was thus braving perils and hardships innumerable, in the gallant endeavour to extend the rule of France over half a continent, his friend and patron, Count Frontenac, had been recalled by the king, wearied by the constant friction between Intendant and Governor, caused partly by the imperious conduct of the latter and partly by the jealous enmities that had grown out of his connection with La Salle and the fur traffic. His successor, the avaricious La Barre, readily influenced by La Salle's enemies, had laid violent hands on his fort and Seignior, on the flimsy pretext that he had weakened the garrison by withdrawing an escort for his expedition, which Frontenac had undertaken to replace. La Forêt would have been left in command if he would have joined the "Combine" against his master, a pro-

The Story of Old Kingston.

posal which he scornfully rejected, and soon after embarked for France. There he met his Chief, who, in presenting his last memorial, represented the high-handed injustice of La Barre with such effect that La Forêt carried back to Canada the royal command to the Governor to make full restitution of the confiscated property, and to replace him, as La Salle's lieutenant, in charge of Fort Frontenac.

Meantime the Iroquois had been growing bolder and more warlike in their attitude, and La Barre and his allies in genuine panic, as well as greed of gain, were willing to permit them to destroy the unfortunate Illinois whom La Salle had received into alliance with the French,—in the hope of diverting their raids from the Hurons and Ottawas, with whom a profitable trade was conducted. While, however, La Barre was most anxious to postpone the threatened war, he made at least a show of preparation by building vessels at Fort Frontenac and sending thither canoes ostensibly laden with munitions of war, though his opponents declared that they often contained brandy for contraband sale to the Iroquois; and the Intendant, De Meules, roundly declared that all this show of ship-building and armament was simply a screen for illicit trade.

La Barre's greed in the end over-reached itself. In addition to Fort Frontenac, he had likewise seized La Salle's fort of St. Louis, on the Illinois, and had hinted to the Iroquois that they might plunder the explorer's canoes with impunity should they come in their way. But when, soon after, the Senecas plundered the Governor's own canoes, on their way to the tribes of the Mississippi, and even attacked—ineffectually—the well defended stronghold of St. Louis, he

Fort Frontenac under the French Regime.

determined on immediate reprisals. Despite the remonstrances of the venerable Jean de Lamberville, missionary among the Onondagas, he mustered a large force of volunteers, regular soldiers and Indian allies, and began an official ascent of the St. Lawrence, which, unlike those of his predecessor, meant war, not peace. Once more there was a martial encampment at Cataragui, under the palisades of Fort Frontenac, with parades and military music lending animation to the scene. But a malarial fever, arising from the neighbouring marshes, greatly weakened the French force, placing many *hors-de-combat*.

As the Iroquois refused to come to Fort Frontenac for conference, the Governor, through the mediation of Le Moyne, induced them to meet him at La Famine, on the other side of the lake, where, with his weakened force, he was hardly in a position to overawe the arrogant Iroquois. A nominal peace was patched up, the Onondagas promising compensation for the pillage of the canoes, but refusing to give up their threatened raid on the Illinois, and demanding that the "Council-fire" for future meetings should be at La Famine instead of Fort Frontenac. The truce seems to have pleased no one save the pacific Lamberville, and the general dissatisfaction almost culminated in open revolt. La Barre had clearly shown his unfitness for his position, and he was, shortly after, superseded by the Marquis De Denonville.

The new Governor found the situation complicated and harassing. The struggle for the domination of the continent was becoming more and more acute. Colonel Dougan, Governor of the colony of New York, was bent on frustrating the great scheme of French colonisation, which he saw, aimed at the entire posses-

The Story of Old Kingston.

sion of the interior. As Parkman sums up the opposition between the two contestants:—"If his policy should prevail, New France would dwindle to a feeble province on the St. Lawrence; if the French policy should prevail, the English colonies would remain a narrow strip along the sea." The Hudson's Bay Company on the north, the New England settlers on the east, and the colony of New York opposing the French advance to the south of the Great Lakes, were all seeking to encircle New France with a barrier to further progress. But Louis XIV. was now strenuous in defending his rights in the New World, while James II. of England was weak and wavering in his policy. Dougan, however, debarred from open hostilities, could at least carry on intrigues with the Iroquois, whom Denonville was determined to crush, by fair means or foul. Notwithstanding a treaty of neutrality concluded in 1678, he determined to follow previous instructions, and mustered a large and formidable force to attack the villages of the Iroquois, keeping his design secret, while professing that his purpose was solely to hold a peace conference at Fort Frontenac.

To promote his deception of the Iroquois, he made treacherous use of the unsuspecting missionary brothers Lamberville, to persuade the Onondaga Chiefs to meet him at the pretended Council, knowing well the terrible risk to which he was exposing these good Fathers, who had long served the interests of France among the savages; while he deliberately perpetrated against the peaceful Iroquois near Cataraqui a piece of cold-blooded treachery which darkly stained his own *régime* and the fair fame of Fort Frontenac;—sowing

Fort Frontenac under the French Regime.

dragons' teeth, whence should spring vengeance and massacre for years to come.

In advance of his army of two thousand men, he sent the Intendant Champigny to invite the neighbouring Iroquois to a friendly feast at the fort. When some thirty braves, with about ninety women and children, had assembled in response to his bidding, they were suddenly surrounded and made prisoners by the garrison and the Intendant's escort. The inhabitants of a peaceful village on the Bay of Quinté, and a few others quietly making their way up the river, were forcibly secured, and fifty-one Iroquois braves being thus entrapped, were fastened to stakes within the fort, and, instead of being provided with a feast, found themselves dependent for food on what their wives could procure. Of some hundred and fifty women and children, many fell victims to their terror and distress, or to disease. With a strange travesty of Christianity, the survivors were baptised and distributed in the nearest missions, while the men were also baptized, and, with the exception of a few claimed by nominally Christian relatives, were sent to France to labour as galley-slaves.

In bright contrast with the cruel perfidy of Denonville, shines out the conduct of the Onondagas to their friend, Jean de Lamberville, when they received from an escaped fugitive the tidings of the treacherous outrage. Lamberville, as much taken by surprise as the Iroquois themselves, expected nothing else than a cruel death, which, indeed, he barely escaped at the hands of the Oneidas; but, on the authority of Charlevoix, we are told that the Onondaga Sachems addressed him as follows: "We know you too well to believe that you meant to betray us. We think that you have been

deceived, as well as we, and we are not unjust enough to punish you for the crime of others. But you are not safe here. When once our young men have sung the war-song, they will listen to nothing but their fury; and we shall not be able to save you.' In this generous spirit they sent him secretly, with trusty guides, to join Denonville, which he did, to the Governor's relief, before he and his troops reached Fort Frontenac. There, for a few days, all was life and activity, some two thousand regular soldiers, militia and Indians, being encamped in tents and wigwams in the shadow of the fort, previous to setting out for the rendezvous agreed on, at Irondequoit Bay, on the opposite side of the lake, and the borders of the Seneca country. The Nemesis of Denonville's treachery was not, however, very long delayed; for although the immediate effect of his destructive descent upon the Seneca country was to overpower and check the savages for a time, it was far from proving as effective as had been the expedition led by De Tracy thirty years before. And, emboldened by Dougan's friendly attitude and the protective policy of King James, the Iroquois grew more imperious in their demands and more harassing in their raids, desolating the open country around Fort Frontenac by killing the cattle of the settler and setting fire to his grain with flaming arrows, and even besieging Fort Frontenac itself. Denonville found himself, owing to difficulty of maintaining communication, obliged to sacrifice the newly planted fort at Niagara, successor to that of La Salle, and also to send to France an urgent request that the captives entrapped at Fort Frontenac should be at once sent back to Canada. Others, who had been placed with their Christian relatives in the mission vil-

lages, he used as ambassadors to Onondaga to make overtures of peace. In this he succeeded so far as to induce the politic old Chief called "Big Mouth" to come with a few other Chiefs, backed by a strong body of his people, to meet him at Montreal, after a courteous reception at Fort Frontenac in passing. For a time the prospect of peace seemed hopeful, but as the envoys were on their way again to Montreal to arrange a general peace on behalf of the Five Nations, a cunning Huron Chief, Kondiaronk, nicknamed "The Rat,"—having visited Fort Frontenac and there ascertained the situation, which he knew boded no good for the Hurons, who were not included in the negotiations,—laid an ambush for the embassy at La Famine, and killed one Chief, making prisoners of the rest. Then pretending that he had been incited to this deed by Denonville, he presented the envoys with ammunition and sent them on their way with their old grudge stirred up to fiercer strife by what he had represented as a fresh instance of French perfidy. The negotiations proceeded no farther, and in the following August the smouldering vengeance of the Iroquois burst on New France like a thunder-bolt, in the frightful massacre of Lachine, when the savages landed at La Salle's first Seigniory, and, by the torture and butchery of men, women and children, the burning of the village and the ravaging of the country, scattered devastation and terror over the whole island of Montreal and paralysed the colony for a time by the sudden shock of a bewildering calamity.

CHAPTER III.

THE FALL OF FORT FRONTENAC.

The Marquis de Denonville had, like his predecessor, manifested his incapacity for dealing with the critical situation in New France, and the veteran Count Frontenac, now in his seventieth year, was deemed the only man able, at such a moment, to save the harassed and terrified colony. Accepting the appointment, notwithstanding his age and former experiences, he reached Canada with the autumn winds, to meet an enthusiastic welcome. He found a panic-stricken people most inadequately supplied with troops; he visited the blackened site of Lachine, and heard its tragic tale of massacre and ruin, and he learned, to his intense exasperation, that the destruction of Fort Frontenac had been ordered by his predecessor, in response to an insolent Iroquois demand. In the hope of yet saving a fortress he deemed so important, he hurried off a detachment of three hundred men to avert its doom, but scarcely had they set out when the Commandant of the fort, M. Valrenne appeared with his garrison and the unwelcome tidings that the order for its destruction had been but too effectually obeyed. The fort had been gutted by fire, the cannon thrown into the river, the three vessels pertaining to it sunk, the walls and bastions mined, and, as was believed, completely destroyed in the explosion which followed its evacuation. The demolition, however, turned out not so complete as the garrison supposed, and the ruins were at once occupied by the Iroquois,

The Fall of Fort Frontenac.

who found therein a large store of abandoned munitions and supplies.

It would lead us too far from our main subject to follow the eventful history of New France during the troubled years that followed, during which Cataragui now and then emerges into prominence. Frontenac soon found that his still respected name was no longer the spell to conjure with, which it had been of old. In vain he sought to influence the Iroquois through the mediation of a famous Cayuga Chief named Ourehaoué, one of the captives he had brought back from France, and whose confidence and devotion he had won, who sent three other returned captives to Onondaga with a message dictated by Frontenac, begging his people not to act "like foolish children, forgetting their obedience to their father," and promising that he himself would return to them as soon as they should ask for this in respectful and filial terms.

But though the envoys did their best to secure a pacific reply, the Iroquois, instigated by agents from Albany, proved obdurate to the exhortation of Ononthio. They reminded him that their Council-fire at Fort Frontenac had been quenched in blood; declared that the Council-fire now burned at Albany; demanded the immediate return of Ourehaoué and the rest of the captives, and informed him that they had made peace with the tribes of Michillimackinac, and that there they would continue the war till their countrymen should be sent back to them.

The next few years were perhaps the most distracted and unhappy in the history of New France, —the period of the "Three War Parties" and Phipps'

attack on Quebec—when a sanguinary border warfare, bringing destruction, famine and misery in its train, raged between the frontier settlements, keeping the unhappy settlers under a reign of terror, often afraid to venture out of their stockades for the tilling of their fields; while an Iroquois blockade of the Ottawa River intercepted the transport of beaver-skins from Michillimackinac, cutting off from the colony its chief dependence for support. When at length, in consequence of Frontenac's exertions and the moral effect of the defeat of Phipps at Quebec, the water-way was again open, and the accumulation of furs reached Quebec, the colonists could hardly find expression for their joy and gratitude to "the Father of the people and preserver of the country."

But raid and reprisal between settlers and savages still continued to disturb the public peace, the cruelties perpetrated by the former being sometimes as great as those of the latter. The Hurons were still kept in wavering and unrest by the fear that their French allies could not, or would not, in the last resort, protect them from their Iroquois foes. Frontenac felt strongly that one course alone could be effectual—to humble the Iroquois by some really decisive defeat, and thus to reassure the Hurons; and with this end in view he determined, in 1696, to rebuild Fort Frontenac.

But, as usual, a storm of opposition arose from those who feared lest the re-establishment of the fort might interfere with their own interests, opposition which found expression in the counter-representations of the Intendant, De Champigny. Frontenac had sent home, in 1695, his reasons for rebuilding the fort, which De Champigny sought to counteract by a par-

The Fall of Fort Frontenac.

allel set of reasons to the contrary. Frontenac dwelt on its importance as an *entre-pôt* of trade, a store-house for provisions, a place for repairing weapons and implements, a headquarters for expeditions, a retreat in case of danger, and a hospital for sick or wounded soldiers. De Champigny, on the other hand, objected that it would be a useless expense to re-establish a fort which lay out of the direct course of either trade or war, which could furnish protection only to the men within its walls, and which, from its contiguity to poisonous swamps, was so unhealthy that eighty-seven men out of eight hundred composing the garrison had died in one year.

It is quite probable that, in those days, when a long stretch of swampy soil, long since filled in, extended along the shore of the Cataragui up to the walls of the fort, malaria did prevail, although—this condition having been greatly changed—Kingston is now considered one of the most salubrious places in Canada. But the usefulness of the fort as a means of checking the incursions of the Iroquois was beyond a doubt, and the savages themselves were so much concerned at the prospect of its restoration that they appealed to the Governor of New York to prevent it, which he vainly undertook to do. Nevertheless De Champigny's representations produced such an effect in France that the Minister, Pontchartrain, wrote to Frontenac that the plan must be absolutely abandoned. The Governor, however, had taken care not to wait for this veto, but had already despatched a force of seven hundred men for the work of restoration, and notwithstanding the Intendant's demand for their recall, the fort was, in a short time, repaired

and garrisoned by forty-eight soldiers, with supplies for a year.

As now restored, the fort was a somewhat imposing structure, having four curtains of stone, each twenty feet long, with four square bastions at the angles, the north and south bastions being almost on the present line of Ontario Street, the eastern on the present Barrack Square, and the western on what has long been known as "the Haymarket." On the western side it was defended by an embankment and ditch, the gate being situated near the present barrack wharf. Some years later a wooden gallery was built within, from one bastion to another, the latter rising from sunken wooden piles, and the curtains were loop-holed for musketry, the water side being, as before, defended by palisades. Barracks for the men, a mill, a bakery and a well, with, of course, a powder magazine, occupied the interior.

Once again, in July, the veteran Governor led a formidable expedition from Montreal to Fort Frontenac, this time on an errand of war, not of peace. His force numbered twenty-two hundred men, led by a fleet of Indian canoes. Next, in martial order as before, came the bateaux, filled with the regular troops, then Frontenac and his suite, followed by a body of volunteers under Ramezay, the rear being composed of regular soldiers and volunteer Indian allies, commanded by Vaudreuil. Once more the white surges of the rapids had to be faced and overcome. Frontenac, septuagenarian though he was, would have plodded on with the rest; but here, as later at the Falls of the Oswego, the Indians lifted him and his canoe on their shoulders, and singing their war-songs, carried him through the dark shades of the forest.

The Fall of Fort Frontenac.

After a few days' rest, Frontenac, with his little army, crossed the lake to the south of the Oswego River, and began his march to the Indian town of Onondaga, which they found almost deserted, the panic-stricken Indians having saved themselves by flight. After destroying this village and that of Oneida, the expedition, encountering no foe, was obliged to return as it came, having at least over-awed the savages for the time. Two years later the stalwart old Governor died, in the *Château* at Quebec, like his predecessor, Champlain, at nearly eighty years of age, having firmly pursued his own vigorous policy to the end, despite weakening orders from the king. In pursuance of that policy, he had steadily refused to comply with repeated directions from headquarters to abandon Fort Frontenac. His strong hand on the reins had saved New France at the critical moment. The power of the Iroquois to harass the colony was in a great measure broken; the all but shattered Indian alliances had been cemented anew, and the claims of the English settlers to suzerainty over the Iroquois emphatically repudiated. The western forts were maintained, and in fulfilment of the cherished dream of La Salle, the colony of Louisiana attained an actual existence, and the Gulf of Mexico was brought into direct communication with the St. Lawrence through the pioneering energy of Le Moyne d'Iberville, and other sons of New France.

But the French supremacy in America was short-lived. The English colonies were fast growing in strength, while the power of France was weakening at home, and in the middle of the seventeenth century the final struggle for the possession of Canada reached its crisis, and the figures of Wolfe and Mont-

calm appeared in the forefront of the long, harassing war. Fort Frontenac, one of the most important French posts, on account of its command of Lake Ontario, played no unimportant part in the sharp struggle. In the summer of 1749 it was used as a resting-place by Celoron de Bienville, who was sent with some two hundred men—mostly Canadians—and a band of Indians, to defend the French possessions in the valley of the Ohio; the Marquis de La Galissonnière, then Governor, being determined to maintain French domination in Canada as a barrier against English ambition, since—if the latter nation should become preponderant in America—the wealth which they would draw from their colonies would soon make them dominant in Europe.

Three years later we catch another glimpse of the condition of Fort Frontenac, in the diary of Father Picquet, the “apostle of the Iroquois,” as he was styled, though he was as much a politician as an apostle, who made a journey thither from his mission of “*La Présentation*,” on the site of the present City of Ogdensburg. He and his belongings were paddled up through the mazes of the “Thousand Islands” by six Canadians, some of his Indian converts following in another canoe. At Fort Frontenac they saw very few of the former Indian settlers, as most of these found the English post of Oswego a more attractive resort. M. Picquet did not remain long at the fort, where he found such provisions as they had—“bread and milk, pork and bacon—very poor,” and “not brandy enough to wash a wound.” He crossed the lake with his company to one of the neighbouring islands, where a band of Indians lived, to whom M. Picquet gave a feast, along with a discourse of relig-

The Fall of Fort Frontenac.

ious exhortation, which proved persuasive enough to induce them to remove to his new mission. He also entertained there a party of visitors from the fort, consisting of the chaplain, the storekeeper and his wife, with three young ladies, doubtless well pleased to vary the monotony of the outpost by such an excursion. "My hunters," Picquet relates, "had supplied me with the means of giving them pretty good entertainment. We drank, with all our hearts, to the health of the authorities, temporal and ecclesiastical, to the sound of our musketry, which was very well fired, and delighted the islanders."

On his return from his further expedition to Niagara he again visited Fort Frontenac, and thus described the scene on his arrival:—"Never was a reception more decorous. The Nipissings and Algonquins, who were going on a war-party with Monsieur Belêtre, formed a line of their own accord, and saluted us with three volleys of musketry and cries of joy without end. All our little bark vessels replied in the same way. Monsieur de Verchères and Monsieur de Valtry ordered the cannon of the fort to be fired, and my Indians, transported with joy at the honour done them, shot off their guns incessantly, with cries and acclamations that delighted everybody." M. Picquet had the further satisfaction of leading back a considerable number of willing proselytes to his mission at *La Présentation*, which, with the partiality of a founder who had overcome much opposition to his scheme, he regarded as a key to the colony.

But the last hour of Fort Frontenac was drawing near. The two great powers which had so long been silently contending for the sovereignty of the continent were gradually approaching each other across the

slopes of the Alleghanies and the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the capture of many French vessels by British cruisers hurried on the crisis, though the first shots had been fired in the wilds of Virginia. La Jonquière, Governor of Canada in 1751, appreciating the strategic value of Fort Frontenac, did all he could to repair and strengthen it for the impending conflict.

In 1755, when the international struggle was growing more acute and critical, we find Captain John Shirley, second son of the General, unfolding to Governor Morris of Pennsylvania his project of capturing the fort, which at this time was garrisoned by a French force of fourteen hundred regulars and Canadians, ready to descend upon Fort Oswego as soon as Shirley should have left it in order to attack Niagara, whereby he would be cut off from his supplies, with the French in his rear. "We are not more," writes Shirley, "than about fifteen hundred men fit for duty; but that, I am pretty sure, if we can go in time in our sloop, schooner, row-galleys and whale-boats, will be sufficient to take Fort Frontenac, after which we may venture upon the attack of Niagara—but not before. I have not the least doubt, myself, of knocking down both these places yet this fall, if we can get away in a week. If we take or destroy their two vessels at Frontenac, and ruin their harbour there, and destroy that fort and Niagara, I think we shall have done great things." But the time for this was not yet. The proposed movement on Niagara was checkmated by the exceptional strength of the garrison at Fort Frontenac; the weather was bad; the means of transportation not half sufficient, and the attempt was considered too rash to be made that season.

The events of 1756, however, proved the wisdom of

The Fall of Fort Frontenac.

Shirley's project; for during that year Fort Frontenac once more resounded with martial preparations and the tread of armed forces, as it became a principal point of departure for military *sorties* against Fort Oswego. Early in spring Captain de Villier led from it a body of three hundred men, who entrenched themselves among the woods near Oswego, to harass the garrison, intercept supplies, and, if possible, to surprise the fort. Meantime Montcalm himself arrived in Canada, and, in July, hastened in person to Fort Frontenac, where for days large bodies of troops continued to arrive, destined to push the siege of Fort Oswego. On the 4th of August he left Cataraqui for Sackett's Harbour, the general rendezvous, where an army assembled more than 3,000 strong, and after stealthy night-marches through the woods, succeeded in surprising the important post, forcing the garrison to surrender, and taking sixteen hundred prisoners of war, besides six war-sloops and a large quantity of cannon, ammunition and supplies.

This success seemed to turn the tide of war completely in favour of the French, and subjected the hapless British frontier settlements to many harassing attacks. Late in November a detachment of French and Indians from Fort Frontenac penetrated into the valley of the Mohawk, captured some small forts, and after killing forty men, carried off 150 prisoners and returned to Cataraqui laden with valuable spoils.

This seems to have been the last victorious foray from Fort Frontenac. In the following summer the centre of hostilities was shifted to Lake Champlain. The "Seven Years' War" had now nearly run its course, for, in 1758, Britain, determined to succeed by increasing her forces, sent out large bodies of

The Story of Old Kingston.

troops, raising the tale of the army in America to 80,000 fighting men. And one of the Brigadiers, chosen by Pitt himself, bore the name of *James Wolfe*.

A few months later Louisbourg had been won, and hope rose high, but was sadly damped by the ignominious defeat of Abercromby at Ticonderoga (Fort Carillon), when he was forced to retreat with heavy loss, leaving nearly 2,000 men dead or wounded on the field. The gallant Bradstreet, who did what he could to retrieve the fortunes of the day, had previously planned an attempt to capture Fort Frontenac, and knowing that the greater part of its garrison had been drawn off to Ticonderoga, he now so strongly urged his project, that, under pressure of a Council of War, Abercromby granted him 3,000 men and eleven guns for the enterprise. Its arduous nature will be realised when we reflect that these 3,000 men, nearly all Provincial militia, had to be conveyed in bateaux and whale-boats up the Mohawk and down the Onondaga River—with a portage between—to Oswego, and thence across the lake. On August 25th he landed about a mile from the important "quadrangle, defended by thirty guns and sixteen small mortars," and garrisoned by only 120 soldiers and 40 Indians. It was commanded by the veteran De Noyan, who had vainly warned De Vaudreuil of the danger, and begged for reinforcements. Bradstreet at first took up his position at 500 yards from the fort, but finding that distance too great and the firing from the fort weak, he cautiously approached and established himself in an old entrenchment, afterwards the site of the "Market Battery," in front of the present City Hall, from whence he opened fire early on the morning of the 27th. De Noyan, we

The Fall of Fort Frontenac.

are told, was "brave as a lion," but the weak and dispirited garrison, cannonaded at such short range, could not possibly hold out against the overwhelming odds, and, seeing no prospect of succour, he surrendered himself and his men as prisoners of war. He stipulated, however, for the safe transport of his troops to Montreal, specifying also the condition that the ornaments and sacred vessels of the "chappel" should be removed in his own baggage. These conditions were honourably fulfilled by Bradstreet, who withstood the entreaties of the Oneidas to be allowed to scalp the prisoners—suggesting that he should follow the example set by the French on several occasions, i.e., "turn his back and shut his eyes;" and compelled them to refrain from any act of violence, granting them, however, a generous share of the plunder.

Over and above the strategic importance of the place, it was no mean prize that thus, without the loss of a single man, fell into British hands. The cannon and mortars were used in battering down the walls which they were meant to defend, and some nine armed vessels, of from eight to eighteen guns*, a large quantity of naval stores, artillery and munitions, were by Abercromby's orders burned or destroyed, with the exception of the two largest brigs, which were required to carry across the lake a large quantity of valuable furs also found in the fort. The victorious troops returned to Oswego, and having burned the two reserved brigs, made their way to Albany. When the tidings reached the camp of Abercromby, depressed by

*Most of the supplies found at Fort Frontenac were intended for Fort Duquesne, whose fall was hastened by their capture. The burning of the French fleet was necessitated by the lack of a British harbour on the lakes, where the vessels would have been safe from re-capture.

The Story of Old Kingston.

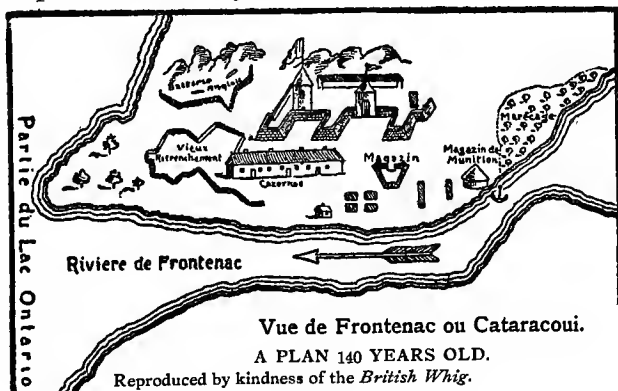
the recent reverses, Chaplain Cleaveland wrote in his diary: "This is a glorious piece of news, and may God have the glory of the same!" To the French, on the other hand, the fall of Fort Frontenac was an ominous calamity indeed, fully justifying in its results the apprehensions expressed in announcing its loss to Paris. Its surrender ruined the military career of the unfortunate De Noyan, who was obliged to retire from the service as the scape-goat of De Vaudreuil's neglect to send the reinforcements which he asked for in vain. After Louisbourg, Fort Frontenac was the first Canadian post over which the red-cross banner was unfurled, and its fall was one of the main events which resulted in the conquest of Canada, eventually consummated by the victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham.

The dismantled walls were, indeed, re-occupied during the summer by the French, and some attempts made to strengthen the post. But its day was over. A few days after De Vaudreuil's capitulation at Montreal, in 1760, which ended the French *régime* in Canada, we hear of the place incidentally, owing to a halt made there by a small British force on its way to take possession of the French posts on the lakes, in order to supply itself with game and venison brought thither by an Indian hunting-party. Three years later, apparently with a view to restoring this important position, General Haldimand sent the Government Surveyor, Holland, to report on its condition. As to this, he says that "the vaults still remain entire, with part of the walls of the fort, barrack, etc., and are in such repair as will lessen the expense of re-establishment. The works or lines begun by the French on the commanding grounds near the fort, will cover a

The Fall of Fort Frontenac.

sufficient space for a town." Nothing further, however, seems to have been then done, Carleton Island forming for a number of years the British post in that vicinity.

So the old fort was left deserted and in ruins, though its walls and one of its towers long survived, and some vestiges of it were found when the Grand Trunk Railway line was opened into the city, while the position of the old tower can still be traced in the square of the Tête-de-Pont barracks. And thus, through the fortunes of war, the site of a fortress which had seen so much life and so many vicissitudes during nearly a century of existence, was now forsaken and left in almost primeval silence and solitude. A few French and Indian families still lingered near the spot, but the clash of arms, the sentry's tramp and the *reveillée*, were heard no more until another generation had nearly run its course, and the advent of the United Empire Loyalists had opened the British chapter of its history.



CHAPTER IV.

THE COMING OF THE LOYALISTS.

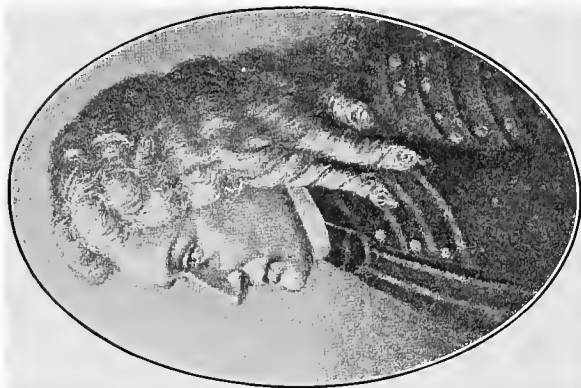
A quarter of a century of silent summers had passed over the ruined Fort Frontenac, when, in the early spring of 1783, the blue waters of the St. Lawrence again bore a small exploring party to Cataragui, with the purpose, not of building a fort, but of founding a new and peaceful settlement. The intervening years had brought about changes which could hardly have been foreseen in 1758. Britain reigned supreme, indeed, over what had been New France; but her thirteen colonies to the southward had renounced her sway, fought out their independence, and were now known as the United States of America. We must be content to accept the verdict of impartial history that this unfortunate *dénouement* was due to "faults on both sides," and we need not now revive the memory of "old unhappy things and battles long ago!" Yet we can hardly refer to the coming of the Loyalists without remarking that the revolutionary party made no greater mistake—in days when the conflict of feeling and opinion was sharp and bitter—than in the rigour with which they treated their fellow countrymen who maintained their allegiance to the British flag, and the animosity with which they drove out many of their best citizens from a republic constituted in the sacred name of freedom!

As loyal subjects of the British Empire, we can never cease to honour the high-minded men and women



SIR GUY CARLETON.

Later Lord Dorchester and Governor-General of Canada.



TRADITIONAL PORTRAIT OF
COUNT FRONTENAC.

There is said to be no authentic portrait of Count Frontenac, extant; but the above so much resembles the "death mask" given by M. Sulte, as to suggest an approximate likeness.

The Coming of the Loyalists.

who left their pleasant homes and fertile farms, and, in many cases, their all, rather than sacrifice the principles in which they believed. Like Abraham of old, they went out into the wilderness—scarcely knowing whither—to become, like him, the founders of a nation; and it is generally of such material that the best foundations of a nation are built. Their long and weary journeyings over the snow-clad wilderness that separated them from their “promised land,” or by the still longer and more circuitous route of sea and river, recall the spirit and faith of the Israelites of old, a faith justified by its ultimate reward. Amid all the noble traditions to which Canada is heir, that of the genuine U. E. Loyalists is one of the noblest and should be one of the most imperishable.

The little flotilla that now appeared in the midst of the lonely wilderness had no external pomp or circumstance, no martial music or uniforms glittering in the sunshine. A few *bateaux* carried a number of weather-beaten men in travel-worn garments, weary with their tedious voyage from Sorel. They were husbands and fathers, the pioneers of a band of refugees, led by Captain Michael Grass, the founders of the town and township of Kingston. The circumstances under which they came are so interesting, and so typical of many similar cases, that they may be glanced at somewhat in detail. Captain Grass, who had owned a farm some thirty miles from New York, had once been, for a short time, a British prisoner of war with the French at Fort Frontenac. Refusing to accept a Captain’s commission in the republican service when the revolutionary war began, he was obliged to leave his farm and place himself and his family under British protection in New York. At

the close of the war, the British General in command (Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester), much perplexed as to the disposition of the numerous Loyalists there, sent for Captain Grass to obtain information regarding the country about Cataraqui. Finding the report favourable, he asked whether his informant would undertake to conduct to the place as many Loyalist emigrants as might be willing to accompany him. Agreeing to do this, after three days' consideration, Captain Grass received his commission as captain of a band of Loyalist emigrants, and notices were at once posted, inviting all who desired to go to enroll their names. A goodly company of men, women and children were soon ready for the enterprise, and in the King's ships, under escort of a man-of-war, they set out by sea. The little fleet of seven vessels was nearly wrecked by the way, and they got no farther than Sorel that season, being obliged to live there during the winter in temporary wooden huts, which in such circumstances must have been dreary enough.

And now the men of the party had come to survey their promised land, and with them, we have reason to believe, came Deputy Surveyor Collins, despatched by Surveyor-General Holland, to accompany the emigrants. As they surveyed the fair landscape about them, as Frontenac had done more than a century before, "no building," says Captain Grass, "was to be seen save the bark-thatched wigwam of the savage or the newly erected tent of the hardy Loyalist," for the ruined walls of Fort Frontenac and its still standing tower would be hardly distinguishable in the distance. Captain Grass was satisfied, however, and in language whose tone recalls the spirit of the "men

The Coming of the Loyalists.

of the *Mayflower*," he tells us:—"I pointed out to them the site of their future metropolis, and gained for persecuted principles a sanctuary, for myself a home."

According to the account given by the grandson of Captain Grass, the exploring party landed at the mouth of the Little Cataraqui Creek, three miles west of Fort Frontenac, and proceeded westward as far as Collins' Bay. On the farther side of the bay Captain Grass attempted to drive a stake into the soil, probably to begin a survey, but finding rocky ground, he remarked that he had come too far to settle on a rock, and returning to the east side of the bay, took possession of the township of Kingston. The prospective settlers had to exercise patience, however, while awaiting the tedious process of surveying and numbering the townships, which was not completed till the following year. Meantime the whole party returned to Sorel for the winter, to bring their wives, families and household goods to Cataraqui in the following spring. A few Loyalist emigrants had previously settled in the vicinity of the Bay of Quinté, and other companies of refugees soon arrived on a similar errand. We are told that the Governor paid the place a visit and enjoyed a ride along the lake shore on a fine day, expressing much satisfaction with "the fine country" which he saw around him. In allocating the newly surveyed townships, the Governor gave to Captain Grass the first choice for himself and his band. As has been said, he had at once chosen the first township, that of Kingston; Sir John Johnston, having the next choice, took the township of Ernesttown; Colonel Rogers the third, that of Fredericksburgh; Major Vanalstine the fourth, Adolphus-

The Story of Old Kingston.

town; while Colonel Macdonell with his company took the fifth, that of Marysburgh. In token of characteristic loyalty to the throne, the last four townships were all named in honour of the children of George the Third.

The townships being thus appropriated to the various bands of immigrants, the green slopes that rose so gently from the water and the fair shore of the Bay of Quinté (or Kenté, its Indian name), were soon dotted with the encampments of families engaged in selecting their future homes, while the forest solitudes once more echoed human voices and human toil. The great trees came down under the short, heavy axes supplied to the settlers—not the fittest for the purpose—and the primitive log cabins were begun, which for years must serve for a dwelling—a great contrast to the comfortable homesteads they had left, as well as to the commodious houses occupied by their descendants. In order to lighten as far as possible the severe toil to which many of the settlers were unaccustomed, they frequently combined forces, each helping the rest and being helped in his turn. The animated scene presented when a band of stalwart pioneers were hard at work felling the great trees, trimming off the boughs, squaring the trunks, piling up the refuse logs for burning, or fitting together those intended for the settler's home, seems to have suggested the appellation of "bee," which has clung to such gatherings ever since.

The settler's first cabin was necessarily most primitive in style and appointments, being generally built of the rough, round logs, notched together at the corners, and piled some seven or eight feet high, with spaces cut out for a door and small windows, the

The Coming of the Loyalists.

interstices being filled in with wooden chips and clay for mortar. The roof was composed of the bark of the elm or of some other tree, in overlapping layers, laid on a support of poles, and the chimney of round poles plastered over with mud. The floor was laid with split logs, flattened sufficiently to present a fairly even surface, and the ample hearth was laid with flat stones, while smaller ones, closely packed together, formed its back and sides. A blanket suspended from hooks frequently did duty as a door, until the settlers had the means of fashioning boards for the purpose.

This simple "log shanty" completed, it was soon furnished with home-made necessities. The bedsteads were built into the cabin itself, poles being inserted securely between the logs of the walls, forming a shelf on which a comfortable bed could be laid. Such carpenters as could be found among the pioneers were turned to account, and benches and tables were made of split basswood. Shelves of the same material did duty for bureaus, washstands, etc. To the Loyalist yeoman, such a primitive abode, surrounded by a wilderness of "bush" or swamp, only to be cleared and tilled at the cost of hard labour, might have seemed a sorry recompense for the sacrifices he had made. Yet here, with industrious habits and simple needs, he could at least live in peace under his time-honoured flag and in sympathy with like-minded neighbours. There were considerable differences of education and social standing among these, as well as in the private means they possessed, but most of the original pioneers belonged to the worthy yeoman class, with respectable education and Old World traditions; and all were united in their staunch loy-

alty to the British Empire, and in the honest desire that the colony they were forming should be worthy of its high prestige.

It was doubtless in expression of this loyalty that, in naming both the first township and the first town, the fine old Indian name of Cataraqui was exchanged for that of Kingstown, afterwards abbreviated to Kingston, though the Indian name still clings to the river as well as to a suburban village. It curiously happens that the traveller who enters Canada by the watery highway of the St. Lawrence, finds in the names of Quebec, Montreal and Kingston reminiscences of the three different races who have successively possessed the land.

When the township of Kingston was first occupied in 1784, Deputy Surveyor Collins was instructed by his superior to make proper reserves for the town and fort, and then proceed to lay out the township, six miles square. The prior claim of Captain Grass was acknowledged in having allotted to him the first lot adjoining the reserve for the town, on which a large part of the City of Kingston now stands; but another of the esteemed founders of Kingston, the Rev. John Stuart, already on the spot, received the next lot, by number Lot Twenty-four, now one of the most desirable residential parts of the city (adjoining Barrie Street), which retained its original designation within the recollection of many old citizens of Kingston. When Collins had completed his survey and reported that the township contained twenty-five lots, he was induced by the officer in command to reduce Lot Twenty-five to one hundred acres, half the ordinary size, so that more room might be left for the projected town, a reduction responsible for some liti-

The Coming of the Loyalists.

gation when the lot, afterwards bought by Captain Murney, was found to contain only half the proper number of acres.

The first surveying being done mainly by means of "blazed" trees, and the lines marked by wooden posts liable to be displaced or washed away, the boundaries of property were often so inexact as to cause much dispute. So loosely and carelessly was the work often done that a later surveyor, in running new lines over a large part of the Province, is said to have found spare room for a whole township. The lots were usually twenty chains in width, though a few in the township of Kingston contained but nineteen, requiring greater depth to make up the right quantity of land. After the base line had been established, another was drawn parallel with it, at a distance of mile and a quarter, the intervening area being called a "Concession," a name borrowed from the French system of land division, each concession being then divided into lots, the lines of which ran at right angles with the concession lines, at distances of a quarter of a mile. Along the shore of the lake and of the Bay of Quinté, the irregular water-line involved a good deal of corresponding irregularity in the laying out of the lots.

As the pioneers in general possessed little money, they received from Government, in addition to their land grants, supplies of provisions for three years, consisting chiefly of flour, pork, some beef, and a little salt and butter; also some necessary implements, including an axe, hoe and spade, a plough, and one cow for each two families, while four families shared the use of a cross-cut and a whip-saw, and boats and

The Story of Old Kingston.

portable mills were provided at suitable points for their convenience. Each group of five families received a set of tools of the smaller sort, along with pick-axes and reaping hooks. The Loyalists were provided, also, with clothing sufficient to last for three years, or until they should be able to provide it for themselves. This consisted chiefly of shoes, Indian blankets for coats, and coarse cloth for trousers, so that the men were at least comfortably clad, though in a somewhat primitive fashion, while the women doubtless mended and darned, making their old clothes "look amaiſt as weel's the new," while they, doubtless, got their share of the shoes and blanketing for outer wraps.

It was not always possible, however, for the settler, in those first years of hard pioneer toil, to secure for himself and his family an adequate supply of the simplest necessities of life. And notwithstanding the Government's considerate provision for the first three years, including grain, peas and potatoes for seed, it was no easy matter for the new settlers, many of whom had to wait long before their lots were surveyed and allotted, to be prepared with a stock of provisions by the end of the third year. It is not surprising, therefore, that, owing to this and other causes, possibly including some faults of administration, there began in the fourth year, 1787, a season of great scarcity and consequent distress, which seems to have extended over nearly the whole of what was then known as Canada. Owing to the small extent of cleared ground, there was little wheat or other grain in stock, the mills so thoughtfully provided being almost useless. Fish and game were, of course, utilised as far as possible, though they had frequently to

The Coming of the Loyalists.

be eaten without salt, which was often lacking. The bull-frogs were caught and considered "sumptuous fare." But the pinch of famine was severely felt throughout Kingston and other townships. Roots, beech-leaves, ground-nuts and other native plants were sought and eaten. Tea was made from sassafras and hemlock, and when the welcome spring brought up the sprouts of the young grain, the half-famished colonists boiled and ate it green, regardless of the future. Under such pressure much had to be sacrificed to present need, and a valuable cow or horse was sometimes sold for a few bushels of potatoes or fifty pounds of flour. The land itself was sometimes bartered for a supply of the necessities of life, whole farms being in some cases sacrificed for a most inadequate price. However, happily, a bountiful season in 1789 relieved the temporary distress, the rich virgin soil producing repeated crops in the course of the summer. There seems to have been, in general, an abundance of game, fish and wild fruit,—rabbits, squirrels, quail, partridges and woodcock being plentiful in many localities, while we are told that the Bay of Quinté was covered with ducks, which could be procured from the Indians, and that fish could be had by fishing with a scoop, while large salmon were occasionally speared with a pitchfork. Sugar could be produced in abundance from the maple sap in spring, and with their farm products the settlers soon found themselves supplied with an abundant supply of wholesome food, hardly missing such luxuries as they were obliged to dispense with. The first beef killed in the district, accidentally slain by a falling tree, was long remembered by all who shared the treat.

Flax was successfully cultivated by the settlers,

The Story of Old Kingston.

who spun and wove it into most durable table linen and wearing apparel, using small hand-looms for the weaving. Weddings occasionally enlivened the primitive monotony, and for this and other reasons the visits of the Rev. Robert McDowall, a Presbyterian missionary, and one of the earliest preachers in this vicinity, were warmly welcomed. The bride in those days generally spun and wove her wedding-dress, and a customary bridal portion is described by one of the first settlers as consisting of one hundred acres of land, one colt, four cows, a yoke of steers, twenty sheep, a good supply of home-made linen, and some home-made furniture, suitable for the new home. Carpets were neither known nor wanted for floors kept well scoured by the young housewife.

The incursions of wild animals, which still roamed the forest in large numbers, were long a source of danger and loss to the pioneers, who were scantily supplied with firearms. Bears and wolves, in particular, often came alarmingly near, and the latter howled dismally around the settlements on winter nights, not seldom carrying off salted provisions, poultry and even sheep and calves. Tragic tales still survive of human beings sacrificed to the ferocity of these hungry animals, and in 1793 it was found necessary to pass an Act, offering a premium of four dollars for every wolf's head brought in, and two dollars for those of bears. Some forty years later, when wolves were growing scarce—the Act still remaining in force—it was said that a man living in Kingston began to breed them privately in order to secure the reward!

Amid the modern surroundings of a long-settled district of to-day, well-cleared fields, substantial farm

The Coming of the Loyalists.

houses, whizzing trains, electric cars and automobiles, it is difficult to realise that such primitive perils so recently existed. But the rude experiences of the past must be recalled if we are to render any intelligent tribute of appreciation to the loyalty, courage and endurance of those who voluntarily sacrificed property, ease and comfort that they might continue to live under the flag they loved, and lay, broad and deep, the foundations of the Canada of to-day.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT AND EARLY DAYS.

The township of Kingston, with eighteen other townships surveyed and allotted in 1783 and the years immediately following, was included in the territorial division originally called the Mecklenburg District, in honour of Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, this name, however, being in a few years changed to that of the "Midland District," so called from its relatively central position. In more modern times it has been divided into the Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington.

This wide area lay between the River Gananoque on the east and Trenton on the west, and was about fifty-six miles wide, extending northward 100 miles to the Madawaska River. It was bounded on the east by the counties of Leeds and Lanark, on the south by the River St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinté, on the north by the Madawaska, and on the west by the county of Hastings. It includes a great variety of land and scenery, from the limestone ridge which has bestowed on Kingston so many substantial buildings and its *sobriquet* of "the Limestone City," and the granite banks, clothed with cedar and juniper, which border the St. Lawrence a little below it, to the rich pastoral country of fields, groves and orchards that lines the winding shores of the Bay of Quinté, and back to the sterner "land of grey rock and shaggy wood" through which the Madawaska pours its rapid, foam-flecked stream, and the Kingston and Pembroke

Settlement and Early Days.

Railway stretches the slender iron line that connects it with centres of civilization.

The beautiful environs of the Bay of Quinté are rich in early associations, and might well tempt us to linger among them. But it is with the county of Frontenac and the city of Kingston that we have now to do. The first perpetuates, as is but right, the name of old Fort Frontenac and the stalwart French Governor who founded and restored it. As a French Canadian writer, M. Tache, has remarked, it is the only place in Ontario, at least, which preserves in its name a memory of the brave French pioneers. It is indeed unfortunate and unfitting that the name of the heroic and ill-fated La Salle has not yet been similarly commemorated in connection with any part of his old Seigniorship and the vicinity of his old fort, where not even a street has been named in his honour! The name of Cataragui—or Katarakoui, as it was originally spelt—signifying, according to what seems the correct rendering, “clay bank rising out of the water,” was early changed to that of its containing township, Kingstown (afterwards Kingston), doubtless in token of the monarchical principles of its Loyalist founders. The names of a number of these, whom we may call the “grey forefathers” of the town, are still preserved in the Crown Lands Department, in a Plan of Township No. G, in the District of Mecklenburg, surveyed in 1785. Among these we find the name of the famous Indian Chief, Joseph Brant, or Thayendinaga, afterwards associated mainly with Brantford, who came to Cataragui in 1785, and lived there for a time, having originally settled in Sorel. Next to Brant’s allotment, on the west shore of the River Cataragui, come the names,

The Story of Old Kingston.

on the numbered lots, of Neil McLean, James Clark, Captain Crawford, Lieutenants Brown, Sovereign and Lawrence (afterwards Graton). To the west of the road dividing the settlement, a block of seven thousand acres seems to have been granted to Captain James McDonnell, from whom it seems to have been transferred to Robert Macaulay, while to the east of the road another block bears the name of John Macaulay. The island in the channel of the Cataraqui, now called Bell's Island, was granted by Governor Haldimand to Neil McLean, a name long well-known in the place.

Southward from the old fort the first lot bears the name of Captain Grass; the second, of the Rev. John Stuart, of whom more hereafter, while the third bears the name of Laurence Herkimer. Then follow less-known names: Samuel Hilton, Captain Hartman, Francis Lozion, Rockland, Brown, Moshier, Ellerbeck, Lieutenant Mower, Atkinson, Gallary, Captain McGarrow, Charles Pander, Robert Vanalstine, Richard Moorman, R. Gider, the last having his allotment bordering the "*petite* Cataraqui," the small stream flowing into the lake to the westward of the city. Then again occur the names of John Stuart and Captain Grass, with Lieutenant Kotte, Captain Everett, Captain John Markham and Nicolas Herkimer, the last bordering on Collins' Bay, the original name of which appears as Ponegog. Further west are the lots of — Purdy, Captain William Johnston, William Fairfield, Robert Clark, James Clark, Sergeant John Taylor, and Captain Myers, the two latter becoming the first settlers in Sidney and Thurlow. James Robins, Sergeant Williams, Lieutenant Best, and John Rosenbury, also appear on the list. One lot, No. 18, was

Settlement and Early Days.

left for the King's Saw-mill, afterwards known as Booth's Mills. Of these owners of lots, however, it is uncertain how many became *bona-fide* settlers, though the list undoubtedly includes those who did. In addition to those named, John Fralick, or Free-lich, formerly holding a commission in the army, is said to have been one of the first settlers in Kingston, and to have built the fourth house of the future town.

During the two or three years following we find coming into prominence the names of men who took a leading part in the affairs of the infant Province, names long well-known or well-remembered in Kingston, and most of them still perpetuated by living representatives. The Rev. John Stuart, D.D., the first Anglican clergyman in Canada, and father of the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart—still well remembered as the venerable "old Archdeacon," has already been mentioned as one of the first land-holders. And as regards the higher interests of the settlement, he was one of the most notable. He soon became the first teacher also, for, in the absence of any other educational provision, he opened a school for boys in the year following his arrival—1876, and, two years after, declares that he has "an excellent school for the children," thus supplying a most urgent need. In 1785 he says of the growing village, that "Kingston increases fast; there are already about fifty houses built in it, some of them very elegant. (sic) We have now, just at the door, a ship, a scow, and a sloop, besides a number at Sackett's Harbour." From which remarks we may gather that the young town, if not growing with the rapidity of new western towns of to-day, was at least making very respectable pro-

The Story of Old Kingston.

gress. The career of this remarkable early settler will be more fully given in connection with the development of religious and educational institutions in Kingston and its vicinity.

Another most notable pioneer settler was the Hon. Richard Cartwright, as he soon became by his appointment to the Legislative Council, the grandfather of our distinguished veteran statesman, the Right Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, and exhibiting in his own career much of the force and ability which have made his descendants a power in the land. Mr. Cartwright, a native of Albany, N.Y., the son of an English father and a Dutch mother, was naturally endowed with studious and scholarly tastes, and was pursuing his studies with a view to entering the ministry of the Church, when the troublous times which befell forced him into a very different path. On the outbreak of the American Revolution, his loyalty to Great Britain brought him, with his parents, to Canada, where he filled for some time the office of Secretary to Colonel Butler of the King's Rangers, attending him through two campaigns. Coming to Kingston, whither his father seems to have accompanied him, at the conclusion of the war, he engaged in business at first on Carleton Island, in partnership with his friend afterwards known as the Hon. Robert Hamilton, an accomplished gentleman of genial disposition and manner, who was long one of the leading men of the Province. One of his sons, George, gave his name, with some valuable property, to the city of Hamilton, and his youngest son, the late Hon. John Hamilton, became, like his father, a Senator, and was long President of the Lake and River Steamboat Company, as well as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Queen's

Settlement and Early Days.

University, a man esteemed and respected by all who knew him, not only for his high character and excellent judgment, but also for the benevolent and genial disposition expressed in his benignant face and courteous manner. Mr. Robert Hamilton, however, left Kingston at an early period to settle at Queenstown, now Queenston, near Niagara, thus severing his partnership and his business connection with Kingston.

Mr. Cartwright's scholarly predilections, if, as we are told, they gave him a distaste for business, seem not to have unfitted him for considerable success therein, judging by his *memoranda* on exports and fiscal questions. And although he had never been greatly attracted by the profession of law, we find him soon, as will presently appear, acting as Chairman of the first Justices of Common Pleas, for the District of Mecklenburg. As one of the first members of the Legislative Council, he ably and faithfully served his Province in this capacity during the rest of his life, even when successive bereavements and his own failing health might well have excused him from public duty. In the published "Life and Letters" of this upright and high-minded man (edited by his grandson, the Rev. C. E. Cartwright, late chaplain of the Provincial penitentiary), may be found many admirable suggestions in regard both to the commercial interests of the country and to the system of legislation best adapted to its needs; and also a manly protest against what he deemed unwise or inexpedient in the régime of Governor Simcoe, such as his fancy for fixing the seat of Government at the River Tranke (London), his too indiscriminate encouragement of American immigrants, and his disposition, in common with that of the Home authorities, to force

the ecclesiastical institutions of the Established Church of England on a population nineteen-twentieths of whom belonged to other Communions, and to grant to the representatives of that Church in Canada the exclusive political advantages which had caused so much dissension in the Mother Country. In regard to one crying grievance, for example, Mr. Cartwright forcibly pointed out the defects of the Marriage Act, which he himself had introduced into the House of Representatives, promising that every effort would speedily be made to place this matter on a more just and liberal footing.

In taking the firm stand he maintained against the views of the Governor and some of his advisers, he exposed himself to misrepresentation in England, and even to imputations on his loyalty, which he keenly felt, but he had the courage of his convictions, and held what he deemed the right course undaunted, and the history of the country soon proved, only too completely, the clearness of his insight and the wisdom of his counsels. His inflexible adherence to duty, unshaken probity, disinterested public spirit, and firm grasp of important questions, justly made him one of the leading men of his time and Province, and had his lot been cast in a wider sphere, there can be little doubt that he would have attained a still higher and wider reputation. Familiar as we are to-day with the principle of heredity, it is not surprising that the two sons who survived him should respectively have exemplified some of his leading characteristics in the ministry of the Church and the profession of law, nor that one of his grandsons should to-day be one of the most distinguished of our Canadian statesmen, while the others have honourably filled important posi-

Settlement and Early Days.

tions in the Province. The Napanee Mills, long called by his name, remain in evidence of his enterprise and business activity.

Another settler of note was Mr. Robert Macaulay, possibly the Lieutenant Macaulay who is mentioned by Parkman as writing to Horatio Gates concerning the capture of Fort Frontenac, in which engagement he may possibly have served. During the revolutionary war he had settled on Carleton Island, in Lake Ontario, not far from Kingston, then a British military station, where he carried on the business of supplying the Commissariat and garrison with provisions. On the cession of Carleton Island to the American Republic, Mr. Macaulay transferred his business to Kingston, where he was one of the original land-holders. He had built for himself a comfortable dwelling-house on the island, and this he enterprisingly rafted over to "Kingstown" and rebuilt at the corner of Princess and Ontario Streets, where, clap-boarded and painted, and in good preservation, it still stands as one of the surviving relics of pioneer days. We know less of his history than of that of Mr. Cartwright, but his two sons—the Hon. John Macaulay, of Kingston, and the Rev. William Macaulay, of Picton—were long known and respected as leading men in their respective vocations, the former filling, for a number of years, the post of Surveyor-General of the Province. The substantial stone house which he built on King Street is still occupied by his descendants.

Captain John Joseph Herkimer, or Herchmer, had served in Butler's Rangers during the border warfare, in which the company was so actively engaged, and, having left his family home in the new republic, where "Herchmer's County" still perpetuates the

The Story of Old Kingston.

name, he, also, early settled in Kingston. His grandson, the Rev. William Herchmer, was for many years the popular and esteemed assistant minister of St. George's Church, and his descendants also are still to be found in Kingston.

The name of Forsyth, too, has been long respected in the city, the grandfather of Mr. John R. Forsyth, now residing in England, having been one of the early pioneers and leading citizens. The Hon. Thomas Markland, John Kirby, John Cummings, and others not now represented by living descendants, were most estimable and public-spirited men, helpful in all that concerned the best interests of the town. Other early settlers in the place, of whom less is known, were Peter Smith, John Ferguson, Messrs. Lyons, Pousett, McDonnell, Boyman, Cook, Taylor, Smyth, DeNyke, Alcott, Cuthbertson, and Captain Murney, whose name is perpetuated in Murney Tower, erected on what was his land, and whose descendants afterwards settled in Belleville.

The town-plot of Kingston, first laid out in 1783, was confined to a small area in what is now its eastern quarter. For the first decade of its existence it did not grow beyond the dimensions of a small village. The old traditions of Fort Frontenac, and the few log huts which still existed near the fort, had continued to make it to some extent a resting point between the upper lakes and Montreal. A certain "Mother Cook" is described as keeping a primitive hostelry in a low, flat hut with but two rooms, for the entertainment of passing travellers. As early as 1782-3, the Government, in preparation for the settlement of the Loyalists, had arranged to erect a grist-mill at a picturesque point on the Cataraqui River,

Settlement and Early Days.



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The Story of Old Kingston.

five miles from the fort, early and still known as "Kingston Mills," where a snowy water-fall dashed over rough granite crags into the deep, thickly-wooded gorge below, and where the first locks of the Rideau Canal now rear their solid walls of masonry, and the windings of the narrow river frame in a brief but charming glimpse of the distant city for the travellers



SKETCH OF EARLY KINGSTON BY MRS. SIMCOE.

From "History of Free-Masonry" by John Ross Robertson.

who glide swiftly over the Grand Trunk Railway bridge that now spans the chasm.

This point was selected as possessing the most central water-power accessible to the settlers who were to occupy the adjacent lake-front and shores of the Bay of Quinté; and all the material required for its construction was supplied by Government, the mill-house

Settlement and Early Days.

of roughly squared timber being built by men taken from the newly arrived band of soldier-settlers. The original mill, at which the surrounding settlers, from Cornwall to the Bay of Quinté, could have their grist ground free of toll, was still standing in 1836. Previous to its completion they had to resort to the primitive mortar and pestle, or to such hand-mills as Government could supply or their ingenuity devise.

Another mill, however, was shortly after erected for the Government by the same builder, Mr. Robert Clark, at the Falls of the Napanee River, for the accommodation of the settlers to westward, who, in the absence of ordinary means of conveyance, must have found the journey to Cataraqui inconvenient enough. The original name of *Appeneea*, which, in the language of the Mississauga Indians, signifies flour, is found attached to the place before the mills were built in 1785, therefore it cannot, as some supposed, have been derived from the mills, but may possibly have been suggested by the white foam of the waterfall.

The worthy mill-wright was an Englishman who had been Sergeant-Major in the Eighth, or King's Own, Regiment, and later clerk and military store-keeper on Carleton Island. Thence he went to Cataraqui to build the "Kingston Mills," removing, in 1785, to Napanee, to construct and superintend the new mill. On his appointment to the post of barrack master at Fort Niagara, not long after, the direction of this mill was transferred to Surveyor Collins, and about 1792 it became the property of the Hon. Richard Cartwright, who rebuilt and improved it. Mr. Clark's third son, born at Cataraqui, or Kingston, in 1783, was baptised there by the Rev. John

The Story of Old Kingston.

Stuart, and was, so far as can now be ascertained, the first white child born of English parents in Western Canada. He lived to a good old age, as the late Colonel John Clark, of Port Dalhousie, first President of the Ontario Historical Society, and has left behind most interesting "Memoirs" of the early years of the Province. Among other things, he tells us that "the grain chiefly brought to be ground was Indian corn; but as the clearances increased, a small toll was exacted to pay for the daily expense of the mill; but this was a mere trifle compared with the advantages derived by the settlers from avoiding the loss of time involved in going to Kingston." From the record of an old account book used by Mr. Robert Clark, we find, *inter alia*, that in 1787 nails and butter each cost one shilling per pound; rum, two shillings per quart, and three quires of writing paper, *five shillings sterling*. We learn, also, from other sources, that in the same year the price of the four-pound loaf was fixed by the Court of Quarter Sessions at nine-pence; and it must be remembered that the value of money was then relatively much higher than it is now.

The early judicial history of the Province is admittedly obscure, but the new settlements seem to have been governed at first by "martial law," which simply meant English civil law administered by the resident commanding officer. In 1788, however, some legal machinery seems to have been instituted, and the first officials appointed for the District of Mecklenburg were three Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, namely, the Rev. John Stuart, Neil McLean, and James Clark. The clergyman naturally declined the proffered honour, and it appears that Mr. Cartwright was soon appointed in his place, as he is re-

Settlement and Early Days.

corded Chairman of the Quarter Sessions on almost all occasions during the following decade. The Court of Common Pleas, of which these three gentlemen were officials, had civil jurisdiction, while the Justices individually and in Quarter Session, had jurisdiction in criminal cases. In the earliest extant record of the meeting, at Kingston, of this Court of Quarter-Sessions, the names of the magistrates present are given as Richard Cartwright, Neil McLean, Richard Porter, and Archibald McDonnell, the last name being included among the thirteen appointed at the same period as Justices of the Peace, viz., Robert Clark, Ephraim Washburn, George Singleton, Robert Kerr, Peter Vanalstine, Nicholas Hagarman, Daniel Wright, Archibald McDonell, Joseph Sherwood, William Marsh, John William Meyers, Stephen Gilbert and William Bowen. The Sheriff was William Bedford Crawford; the Clerk of the Court, Peter Clark, and the coroners, John Howard and Michael Maguin. The first recorded jury, sworn in 1789 to try a case of assault and battery, were George Galloway, John Wartman, Barnabas Day, Robert Graham, Peter Wartman, Solomon Orser, Arthur Orser, John Ferris, Gilbert Orser, Malcolm Knight, George Murdoff (Murdoch?), and William Bell.

When, in 1792, the districts were re-constituted, and that of Mecklenburg became known as the "Midland District," it was provided that the Court of Quarter-Sessions should be held alternately at Kingston and Adolphustown, the former possessing both a courthouse and a gaol, while the latter had only a courthouse. Previous to its erection, the Court had to find quarters where it best could, and John Cole, the son

The Story of Old Kingston.

of a Loyalist refugee, used to relate that it sometimes met at his father's farm-house, when the Grand Jury was wont to retire to the barn for consultation.

The functions of these Courts were of a very varied character, extending from sumptuary and police regulations to the trial of civil contentions and criminal offences, although in the last connection they did not possess the power of inflicting capital punishment. The first recorded Court of "Oyer and Terminer," or what we should now term a Court of Assize*, met in 1789, and was probably that which passed the first capital sentence in Ontario, on a poor man who was tried and convicted for stealing a watch—a crime of which he was, too late, proved innocent. In this tragic story, as it comes down to us, we are told that a doctor named Connor, of Ernestown, appealed in Court against this rigorous sentence, but appealed in vain. This first execution in Upper Canada is said to have taken place at a spot on the farm of Captain Grass, which long retained the name of Gallows Point, in memory of the gruesome incident. Other instances of the severe character of the laws of those days are recorded in sentences of thirty and even forty lashes for petty larceny, sometimes with imprisonment or a sitting in the stocks in addition. Inequalities of punishment were even more glaring than they sometimes are in our own days, for, in 1814, a man who had committed assault with intent to murder received two months' imprisonment and a fine of three pounds, while two others were sentenced to be hanged, one for uttering a forged receipt, and the other for stealing a cow! These severe sentences were given in the Higher Court of Assize. In the Quarter-Sessions punishments were not generally so severe, though both

Settlement and Early Days.

the whipping-post and the stocks were in use for minor offences. These two archaic instruments of justice are believed to have stood in the original market-place, somewhere about the present Haymarket, and held their place till about 1824, when the pillory at least seems to have fallen into disuse.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century the Justices of the Peace in Quarter-Session, being then the only municipal authority, enacted regulations concerning the paving, good order and cleanliness of the streets, the rates of ferriage (to Point Frederick and Wolfe Island), the provision for a market-place, precautions for the preventing of fires, extending even to the proper isolation of stove-pipes within dwellings; also the rules to be observed by the holders of tavern licenses, the ordinary sale of intoxicating liquors being strictly prohibited during Sunday or after ten at night in winter and nine in summer. It also appears, from the earliest records of the Court, that the authorities of those days were not disposed to overlook any offence against the dignity of the law, for these show that as early as 1789 two Grand Jurors were fined thirty shillings each for absenting themselves from duty, and that two Petit Jurors were fined twenty shillings each for the same offence.

*"This Court of Assize," says the late Dr. E. H. Smythe, in the "Queen's Quarterly" of October, 1896, "must have been presided over by a Judge of the old Province of Quebec. The first record of Chief Justice Osgoode, the first Superior Court Judge of the Province, is not until the year 1792, when he presided at Kingston on the 23rd of August in that year."

CHAPTER VI.

A NAVAL AND MILITARY CENTRE AND FIRST SEAT OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

The first event which gave an effective stimulus to the growth of the little Capital of the Midland District was its selection, by the British authorities, about 1788, as a naval and military centre. In May of that year Lord Dorchester, formerly Sir Guy Carleton, then Governor of Canada, instructed Surveyor John Collins to make a survey of forts, harbours, etc., from Carleton Island to Michillimackinac, "having particular regard to the question whether Carleton Island or Kingston should be the more eligible station for the king's ships of war, to protect the navigation of Lake Ontario and the upper part of the River St. Lawrence."

The Surveyor's report did not prove favourable to the claims of Kingston. He did not consider its harbour the best situation for vessels, on the British side, "as it lies open to the lake, and has not very good anchorage near the entrance, so that vessels are obliged to run a good way up for shelter from the most frequent winds." To get into the lake was as easy from Kingston as from Carleton Island; but the latter, in his opinion, afforded the best shelter, his conclusion being that "the preference leans to the side of Carleton Island. If the object were that of trade only, or regarded merely the transport of goods to Niagara, I do not see that Carleton Island has any material advantages over Kingston; but as a station

for the King's ships of war, I am induced to think that Carleton Island is the best, Kingston being somewhat vulnerable in the rear."

"In regard to the existing condition of the works at this time,"—the report continues, referring to Fort Frontenac,—“the whole is so far in ruins as to be altogether defenceless and incapable of being repaired; the ditch, which is in the rock, has never been sufficiently excavated; the other works have never been completed; but it strikes me that they never were capable of any serious defence, as well from the bastions (sic), as the oblique manner in which their faces are seen from the other works. The green logs with which the fort was built (or, rather, rebuilt) could not be expected to last long; the ground is favourable for a fort of greater capacity and strength. As the ground in front widens and extends somewhat over the extremities of the work, particularly on the right, precaution should be taken to strengthen those points towards the field, to counteract, in some degree, the advantage an enemy attacking might have in the extent of his flanks. The barracks, though partially dismantled and in a very bad condition, may still be repaired.”

Despite Collins' adverse report, however, Lord Dorchester remained firm in his own opinion, which has been in more recent times endorsed by competent military authority. Though we have no very definite information as to details, it seems probable that the outpost at Carleton (or Chevereux) Island possessed at this time only a Commissariat Department, the troops having been withdrawn to other parts of the Province; and the final cession of the island, as situated within the boundary assigned to the United

The Story of Old Kingston.

States, soon settled the question of its rival claims. Shortly after this we find Haldimand Cove, between Point Frederick and Point Henry, opposite Kingston, selected as a site for the naval depot, the dockyard and stores being begun in 1789, the year after the survey, when barracks were also erected on the ruins of the old fort.

A large stone building was soon in course of erection on Point Frederick, a narrow peninsula dividing the harbour from Haldimand Cove, both being named in compliment to the Governor, Sir Frederick Haldimand. It was built, not of Kingston limestone, but of a light cream-coloured stone found in that vicinity, and—being constructed and fitted up somewhat on the model of a man-of-war, the upper flats being left open like decks through all their length and fitted with hammocks—long retained the appellation of “the Stone Frigate,” being finally turned into a barracks for the cadets of the Royal Military College. The Government dockyard was soon alive and bustling with the work of shipbuilding, in which a large number of labourers were employed. It is worthy of passing mention that the bell which summoned them to work was even then an historical relic, having been among the spoils taken by British troops in Spain during some previous campaign. It has, in more recent days, found a different mission, possibly its original one, as the church-bell of the pretty little Anglican church on the Barriefield height, which received its name of St. Mark’s in memory of an early settler named Marks, while the village itself was named in honour of Commodore Barrie, for many years at the head of the naval department. The buildings erected for the residence of the Government officials imparted

a somewhat imposing and Old World aspect to the vicinity, while Kingston, lying just opposite, on the north-western shore of the Cataraqui, was beginning to attain more town-like proportions.

In 1795 the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt visited Kingston, and drew the following unflattering picture of what he saw:—

“Kingston consists of about 129 or 130 houses. The ground in the immediate vicinity of the city rises with a gentle swell, and forms from the lake onward, as it were, an amphitheatre of lands, cleared but not yet cultivated. None of the buildings are distinguished by a more handsome appearance from the rest. The only structure more conspicuous than the others, and in front of which the English flag is hoisted, is the barracks, a stone building surrounded with palisades. All the houses stand on the southern bank of the bay, which stretches a mile further into the country. On the northern bank are the buildings belonging to the naval force, the wharves and the habitations of all the persons who belong to that department. The King’s ships lie at anchor near these buildings, and consequently have a harbour and road separated from the port for merchantmen.

“Kingston, considered as a town, is much inferior to Newark. The number of houses is nearly equal in both, but they are neither so large nor so good as at Newark. Many of them are log-houses, and those which consist of joiner’s work are badly constructed and painted. But few new houses are built. No town-hall, no court-house, and no prison, have hitherto been constructed. The houses of two or three merchants are conveniently situated for loading and un-

loading ships, but in point of construction are not better than the rest."

A few vessels had been built at Carleton Island during the Revolutionary War for the purpose of conveying troops and provisions from point to point on the lake, but were probably worn out at the time of Rochefoucault's visit, for he goes on to observe:—

"The Royal Navy is not very formidable in this place; six vessels compose the whole naval force, two of which are small gunboats stationed at York. Two small schooners of twelve guns, viz., the '*Onondaga*' and the '*Mohawk*,' just finished; a small yacht of eighty tons, mounting six guns, which has lately been taken into dock to be repaired—form the rest of it. All those vessels are built of timber fresh cut down, and not seasoned, and for this reason they never last longer than six or eight years. To preserve them, even to this time, requires a thorough repair; they must be heaved down and caulked, which costs at least from one thousand to twelve hundred guineas. This is an enormous price, yet not so high as on Lake Erie, whither all sorts of naval stores must be sent from Kingston, and where the price of labour is still higher. The timbers of the *Mississauga*, built three years ago, are almost all rotten. Two gunboats, destined by Governor Simcoe to serve only in time of war, are at present on the stocks, but the carpenters who work at them are only eight in number."

It would be easy, he remarks, to make provision for seasoned ship-timber for many years by felling what was to be had in abundance near at hand. But he adds, "the extent of the dilapidations (depredations?) and embezzlements, at so great a distance from the Mother Country, may easily be conceived." Cor-

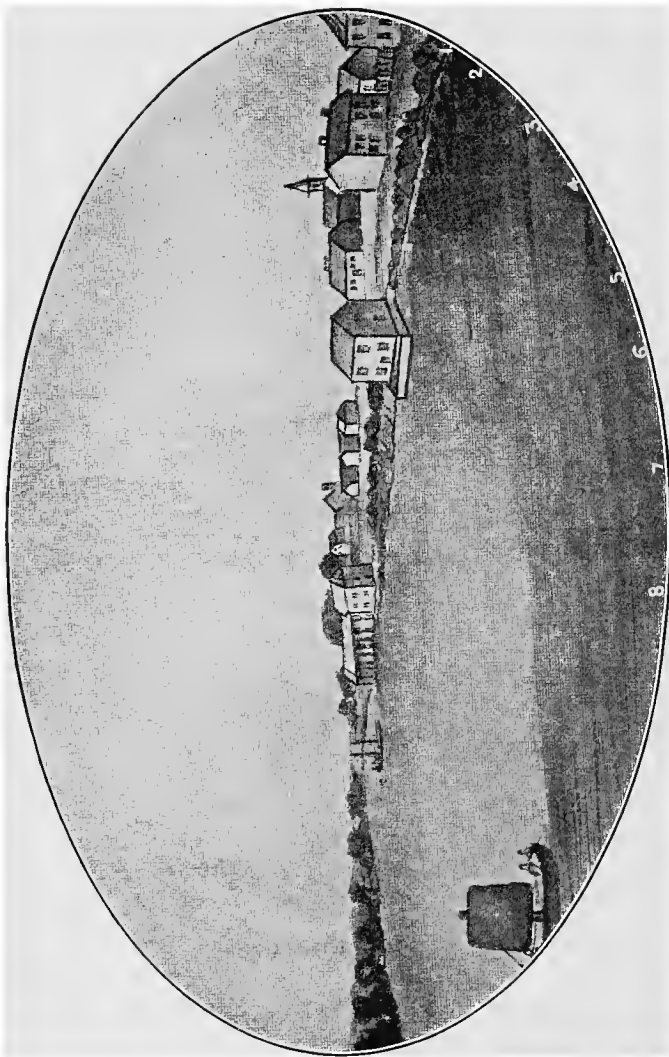
ruption, in short, had begun to assert itself, and during the winter preceding Rochefoucault's visit a judicial enquiry had been instituted into a charge of dishonest collusion on the part of the principal shipwright and the Commissioner of the Navy. "But," the French traveller continues, "interest and protection are as powerful in the New World as in the Old, for both Commissioner and shipwright continue in their places." He pays, however, a high tribute to Commodore Bouchette, a French Canadian by birth, who had entered the British service after the conquest, and possessed the confidence of both Lord Dorchester and Governor Simcoe. "Captain Bouchette commands the naval force on Lake Ontario, and is at the head of all the marine establishments, yet without the least power in money matters. By all accounts he is altogether incorruptible, and an officer who treats his inferiors with great mildness and justice." This gentleman's residence seems to have eclipsed all the houses in the town, and we are told that "he lived in a style superior to that of some of the early Governors." Considering the trend of affairs a few years later, the following additional item reads somewhat curiously: "It is the Government's intention to build ten smaller gunboats on Lake Ontario and ten on Lake Erie. The ship carpenters who construct them reside in the United States, and return home every winter." It is also worthy of note that the first American ship that navigated Lake Erie, the *Detroit*, was British-built, and purchased in 1798.

Among other matters connected with the growth of the young town, Rochefoucault notices the condition of the live stock in the vicinity, deriving his information, he says, from the Rev. John Stuart, "who him-

The Story of Old Kingston.

self cultivates seventy acres of land, part of 2,000 acres which had been granted to him as a Loyalist, and adds, that "without being a very skilful farmer, he is perfectly acquainted with the details of agriculture." "The cattle," he observes, "are numerous, without being remarkably fine, the finest oxen being procured from Connecticut at seventy or eighty dollars a yoke. Cows, coming from New York or Lower Canada, cost about fifteen or twenty dollars. Sheep cost three dollars a head, and seem more numerous than in the United States, thriving in the country, but are high-legged and somewhat unshapely. Coarse wool, when cleaned, costs two shillings a pound. In summer the cattle are turned into the woods; in winter they are fed on dry fodder. There is no ready market at which a farmer can sell that part of his cheese and butter which is not wanted for the use of his family, therefore no more is made than the family need for their own consumption." He also refers admiringly to the pair of favourite horses elsewhere mentioned as belonging to Mr. Robert Clark, of Napanee, which must have taken his fancy, for "Jolly" and "Bonny" have had their names handed down by him through more than an intervening century.

Four years previous to Rochefoucault's visit a bill was introduced by Mr. Pitt into the British Parliament for the division of the country into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada—a bill discussed with unusual interest, memorably by Burke and Fox, which passed its third reading on May 18th, 1791. The division was made partly on account of the great and inconvenient distances now covered by the colony, and partly in pursuance of the policy then in favour of keeping the French and English races separate and



DRAWING OF OLD KINGSTON BY MRS. SIMCOE.

From "History of Free Masonry" by J. Ross Robertson.

distinct. In the following September, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, an ardent soldier, who had distinguished himself as Colonel of the Queen's Rangers during the Revolutionary War, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and arrived in the late autumn at Quebec, where he spent the winter.

This turn of events naturally awakened in the growing town of Kingston, with its advantages of position and its military and naval importance, strong and reasonable hopes of becoming the seat of Government for the new Province, and these hopes were, of course, strengthened when the little town actually became the Capital for the time, being made the scene of the induction of the newly appointed Governor into his responsible office on the 18th of July, 1792, in the "place then used for divine service." As the small, newly erected wooden building which bore the name of St. George's Church was not at this time completed, it is uncertain whether the ceremony took place there, or in the room in the barracks originally set apart for religious services. In the latter case, the inauguration of the first British Governor of Upper Canada was solemnised on the site of old Fort Frontenac. It is also worthy of note here that, half a century later, Kingston was the scene of the opening of the first Parliament of the re-united Provinces. The induction of Governor Simcoe was celebrated amid more primitive surroundings, yet with all the pomp and ceremony which it was possible to command. The day was Sunday, and the place, if plain and bare, was sure to be adorned with all the bunting within reach, while above the spot waved proudly the old flag that had already braved so long the battle and the breeze, and was soon to wave victorious over Waterloo. The

The Story of Old Kingston.

assemblage within must have been both interesting and picturesque, for, as we have seen, a number of the leading men of the new Province were citizens of Kingston, and others assembled for the occasion from their more distant homes.

There, a prominent participator in the ceremonial, stood the stalwart "Curate of St. George's," the Rev. John Stuart, measuring six feet four, playfully styled by his friends "the little gentleman." There stood the martial, energetic, somewhat arbitrary Governor, a plain and simple gentleman in daily life, but imposing in the elaborate Court-dress of the period, surrounded by his military staff, as well as by Commodore Bouchette and his official *entourage*, in their gold-laced naval uniforms. The veterans Col. McLean and Major Vanalstine possibly wore their old uniforms; and the Messrs. Cartwright, Hamilton, Macaulay, Markland, Kirby, Deacon and Maclean, Dr. Dougall, and others well known in the early history of Kingston, doubtless appeared correctly attired in "small clothes" or tight knee-breeches, with silver-buckled shoes, after the picturesque fashion of the time. We do not know whether Mrs. Simcoe was present. If so, she was doubtless the "observed of all observers," for we learn from Rochefoucault that she was a handsome as well as a sensible and amiable woman, somewhat reserved and shy, whose talent for drawing enabled her to be of much use to her husband in the drawing of maps and plans, and whose skilful pencil has given us some interesting sketches of Kingston in its embryo condition. If she was present, the wives and daughters of leading citizens were probably in attendance, attired in the best apparel available for the occasion. Doubtless it was a great day for little

Kingston, and cherished in memory for many a future year in circumstances where such "functions" were few and far between.

Mrs. Simcoe's diary thus records her first impressions of the place:

"Kingston is six leagues from Gananoque, and is a small town of about fifty wooden houses and merchants' store-houses. Only one house is built of stone; it belongs to a merchant. There is a small garrison here, and a number of shops. They fired a salute on our arrival, and we went to the house appointed for the commanding officer, at some distance from the barracks. It is small, but very airy, and so much cooler than the great house at Montreal that I was very well satisfied with the change. The Queen's Rangers are encamped a half mile beyond our house, and the ball-tents have a very pretty appearance. The situation of this place is entirely flat, and *incapable of being rendered defensible*, therefore, were its situation more central, it would still *be unfit for the seat of Government.*" In March of the following year she writes again: "We are very comfortably lodged in barracks. As there are few officers here, we have the mess-room to dine in, and a room over it for the Governor's office, and these, as well as the kitchen, are detached from our other three rooms, which is very comfortable. We have excellent wood fires. I went to church to-day and heard an excellent sermon by Mr. Stuart."

Immediately after his inauguration, the Governor performed his first official act, in issuing a proclamation dividing the Province into nineteen counties, Leeds and Frontenac constituting one. Over each county he appointed a Lieutenant, who had the right

The Story of Old Kingston.

of choosing the Justices of the Peace and officers of the militia, and as he was most zealous in promoting the settlement of the country, these Justices were empowered to assign to every worthy settler 200 acres of land allotted by the district superintendent.

On July 17th he met his Executive Council of five, Messrs. Osgoode, Robertson, Baby, Grant, and a certain Peter Russell, destined to be somewhat undesirably notorious in the future. They met at what seems to have been euphemistically styled "Government House," a plain, low, wooden building still standing on Queen Street, whither it was removed from its original site. Here the organisation of the first Legislative Council took place, and Assembly writs were issued to summon the gentlemen who were to compose it, including Robert Hamilton, of Queenston, and Richard Cartwright, of Kingston, both of whom faithfully fulfilled during many years the duties to which they were then called. The Governor, however, found no little difficulty in making up the number of his small Council and filling up even the few offices required for the transaction of the public business, very few men being found willing to absent themselves from their homes and their business for this purpose.

Kingston's hopes of becoming the permanent seat of Government were, as we know, doomed to disappointment, since Governor Simcoe, as may easily be divined from Mrs. Simcoe's evident reflection of his opinions, did not share the views of Lord Dorchester. The Executive Council held a few meetings at Kingston, but on the twenty-first of July the Governor set out on a westward journey which resulted in his decision to fix his Capital at Newark, afterwards Niagara, then

a small village at the mouth of the Niagara River, where the Legislative Council met at first in a camp-tent, and where, according to Rochefoucault, the Governor inhabited "a small, miserable wooden house, formerly occupied by the Commissariat," yet "lived in a noble, hospitable manner, without pride." His attention at this time seemed mainly directed towards the making of roads to open up the still unsettled portion of the Province, to which Mr. Cartwright objected as being a premature, and, in the circumstances, misplaced use of scanty resources; and this was probably his chief reason for the selection of Niagara, though he seemed strongly in favour of eventually placing the Capital on the river then called De La Tranche, or Trenche, where London now stands. After the cession of Fort Niagara, however, he felt that "the chief town of a Province should not be placed under the guns of an enemy's fort," and apparently as a sort of compromise between Kingston and the uninhabited west, he finally decided on a small hamlet, then and afterwards styled "Little York," but finally reinstated in its more euphonious, original name of Toronto.

The first session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada made a good record for its yeomen legislators, who had so many weary miles to travel by land and water. During its session of five weeks, English civil law and trial by jury were established, and several other measures fitted to promote the good order and prosperity of the young Province proved the good sense and progressive spirit of the men who had left the tilling of their fields to undertake the framing of their laws.

In the second session, the Legislature made an im-

The Story of Old Kingston.

portant advance in civilisation, by prohibiting the future importation of slaves, and manumitting, at the age of twenty-five, all children thenceforward born in slavery, a measure which, in a few years, of course, terminated negro slavery in Canada. This had, indeed, been to some extent a recognised institution during the French *régime*, and when the U. E. Loyalists arrived from the new republic, some of them brought with them, along with other property, their negro slaves. Among the settlers at Kingston, several of the leading men, including the Rev. John Stuart, were slave-owners. The latter, in his Memoirs, says naïvely, that “my negroes, being personal property I have brought with me, one of which (sic), being a young man and capable of bearing arms, I have to give security to send back a white prisoner in his stead.” Colonel John Clark, in describing his mother’s funeral, mentions that their negro, Joe, drove their favourite black horses, Jolly and Bonny, before the family sleigh, painted black; and also that drovers used to come in with droves of horses, cattle, sheep and negroes for the use of the forts, troops and settlers in Canada, adding that “my father purchased his four negroes—three males and one female named Sue—who, in the War of 1812, gladly returned to our family, having become old and indigent.” Major Van Alstine also possessed eleven, whom he treated with patriarchal kindness, and who lived in great comfort in the old-fashioned Dutch kitchens in his home in Fourth Town.”

But however mild and favourable the conditions of slavery may have been in the colony, it was felt to be incompatible with free British institutions; and, as we have seen, there was no time lost in practically

abolishing it, much credit for the same being due to the then Solicitor-General Gray, who, to the general regret, was lost with other passengers in the schooner *Speedy* in 1802. Upper Canada thus antedated the British Act of Emancipation by forty years, and though Lower Canada did not at once follow suit, Chief Justice Osgoode, a few years later, declared slavery inconsistent with the Constitution of Canada, and therefore null and void.

Two years after Simcoe's inauguration, the census-roll of Kingston returned the population as 376. The town, having really been laid out only in the preceding year, was as yet rough and unattractive in appearance, with its scattered log-houses fringing the tangled woods behind, through which, for streets, ran but the forest-trails. But there were already some evidences of taste and cultivation. As an instance of this, we are told that Mr. Allan McLean, created by Order-in-Council the first lawyer in Kingston, and for many years its representative in Parliament, probably the son of Neil McLean already mentioned, possessed a tastefully laid out demesne called "The Grove," on the shore of the Cataraqui, near the present cotton mill, which contained one of the best gardens in the Province, an acre in extent, and filled with choice fruit trees, from which the generous owner was wont to regale his friends.*

In the first year of the nineteenth century, Commissioners of the Peace were appointed to establish a market at Kingston, where butcher-meat, poultry, eggs, butter, fish and vegetables might be exposed for

*A granddaughter of this gentleman still dwells in Kingston, now the widow of Dr. O. S. Strange, long an esteemed physician of old Kingston.

The Story of Old Kingston.

sale, all the rules and regulations for which were published by causing a copy of them to be affixed in the most public place in every township in the district, and at the doors of the church and court-house of the said town of Kingston, showing that by this time the town possessed not only a church, but a court-house also, where the newly appointed Court of Assize for the Midland District was presided over by Mr. Christopher Hagerman and Sheriff McLean.

The closing years of the century showed also some improvement as to roads, which, of course, were at first entirely non-existent. In 1793 an Act was passed "to regulate the laying out, mending and keeping in repair the public highways and roads," nearly all as yet in the future, which were to be not less than thirty feet, nor more than sixty feet, wide. In surveying the concessions, provision had been made for roads between them, and cross-roads were to be left between every fifth and sixth lot. But the Government, with much on its hands, did not—possibly could not—supply the funds for this necessary step in the improvement of the country. However, a mail-road was at length completed between Montreal and Kingston, the end of each mile being marked by a red cedar post, on which was inscribed its distance in miles from the provincial line. In 1798 a contract was given to one, Asa Danforth, an American, to open a road from Kingston to Ancaster, which was completed in three years. The principal mail-road between Kingston and York did not, we are told, pursue the present line, but followed the bay shore, crossing by ferry at the "Lake of the Mountain," and continuing along the shore to the head of Picton Bay; from Wellington again closely following the shore. Governor Simcoe

had planned and outlined a military road from one end of the Province to the other, to which he gave the name of Dundas Street, probably with a view to accomplishing his idea of fixing the Capital on the present site of London. We find the Hon. Richard Cartwright, in one of his letters, very reasonably protesting against the employment of a hundred men of the "Rangers" in cutting a road from the head of Lake Ontario to the River Tranche (now Thames), where there is not a single inhabitant, instead of employing them "in the service for which they are ostensibly raised, of opening roads and building bridges between the different settled parts of the country." "But," he further remarks, "this is a business that the inhabitants are left to do for themselves as well as they can!"

Circumstances not then foreseen—though even then, the writer of this letter discerned the germs of hostilities between Canada and the neighbouring republic—were in a few years strongly to emphasize the importance of good roads throughout the Province. This was possibly part of Governor Simcoe's plan, but in consequence of inharmonious relations with Lord Dorchester, he soon after (in 1796) resigned his office and returned to England, leaving the President of his Council, the Hon. Peter Russell, already mentioned, the temporary discharge of the duties, with the enjoyment of the emoluments and perquisites which that gentleman was only too ready to secure.

Before the departure of Governor Simcoe, however, Kingston enjoyed the important event of a visit from His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, then stationed with his regiment at Quebec, who made an expedition to the Upper Province, driving with his suite in

The Story of Old Kingston.

calèches to Montreal, and there embarking for Kingston in a *bateau* manned by Frenchmen. At Oswegatchie, we are told, the royal party was met by a pleasure barge from Kingston, rowed by seamen and soldiers, and accompanied by Mr. Peter Clark, of the Naval Department there. At Kingston, Commander Bouchette had the King's schooner, "*Mohawk*," in readiness to convey the Prince across the lake to Newark, where he visited Governor Simcoe and the Falls of Niagara, descending from Table Rock by means of a rude ladder formed of a tall pine, of which the trimmed branches formed the rungs.

With this royal visit, we must drop the curtain of the eighteenth century on the embryo city, with its primitive log houses, its clap-boarded church and court-house, and its four or five hundred inhabitants. Busily engaged in their mercantile and agricultural avocations, rejoicing in the prospective convenience of a market, and no doubt making such local improvements as were possible with the means and appliances at command, they were happily unconscious of the impending time of trouble and severe test of loyalty, which the early years of the new century were to bring to the Midland District, in common with the rest of the young Province.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CLOUD OF WAR.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Kingston had attained the importance, if not the size, of a small town; and as it was the only one within an area of hundreds of miles, it was already the commercial centre of the youthful Province. The original log cabins, one or two of which existed until very recently, had gradually been replaced by somewhat more ambitious dwellings of wood or stone, of which latter there was abundance to be had for the quarrying; and a few of these substantial, steep-roofed old houses in the older portion of the city still bear witness to their durability. It is much to be regretted that in later years Kingston builders have so largely substituted brick for the native stone, that her time-honoured appellation of "the Limestone City" has lost much of its fitness. Some of the houses of that period were, as we have seen, considered by Dr. Stuart "quite elegant," but the embryo streets were still in a very primitive condition, often "nearly ankle-deep in mud."

Kingston had now, as we have seen, a regularly constituted market, and its trade had so much increased that in the year 1801 we find, from a memorandum sent by Mr. Cartwright to Governor Hunter, that the export of fine flour alone from Kingston and vicinity amounted to 8,084 barrels, 2,450 of which were shipped by himself. There were also exports of middlings, wheat, peas, butter, cheese, lard, potash,

The Story of Old Kingston.

and oak staves, the total value of shipments by the merchants of Kingston, including consignments from Niagara and Detroit, amounting to £27,867, Province currency, (equal to \$111,468.00). Pork, also, was a considerable article of export.

The shops or "stores" had become numerous on Store Street, as Princess Street was then called, deriving its name, however, from the Government storehouse at its lower end. The surrounding settlers were no longer compelled to manufacture all their clothing and blankets, as best they could, from their own wool and flax, growing their own hemp, making even their shoes, with much ingenuity, out of such materials as were available. And as the "stores" of Kingston began to present some variety of attractions, they were frequently visited for the purchase of the Sunday apparel, or the bride's calico wedding gown, or the groceries for the festive occasions of "logging" or "raising bees." As yet there was little cash in circulation, but the farmers could pay in farm produce, or promises to supply the same; and when, through the failure of crops in bad seasons, such promises could not be redeemed, the stock—and sometimes the farm itself—had to be sacrificed to meet the claims of the creditors, and thus went to enrich the town. The names of the thriving "respective merchants of Kingston," given in the memorandum of Mr. Cartwright, are those of R. Cartwright, J. Cumming, Peter Smith, T. Markland, L. Herkimer, John Kirby & Co., J. Forsyth, J. Robins, and D. McDonell.

In 1800 Kingston was made a port of entry for American goods, the trade between the two countries having increased so much as to make custom houses

necessary. It was also frequently visited for a more interesting purpose, being one of the five places early appointed for the issue of marriage licenses, and—as the residence of Dr. Stuart—was a convenient place, also, for the performance of the marriage ceremony. In 1802 Samuel Hitchcock was authorised by statute to run a ferry between Kingston and Grand—now Wolfe—Island, at a fee of five shillings for each passenger. A large oaken scow, worked by five men, and running on a cable, had, since 1789, done ferry duty between Kingston and Point Frederick, where most of the officials resided, and where many workmen were employed at the Government dockyard. Civilian passengers were not carried on this scow, but were served by two rowboats, paying two-pence each way. In 1808 Mr. Cartwright, then agent for the North-west Company, built two trading vessels at Mississauga Point—the (second) *Governor Simcoe* for the company, and the sloop *Elisabeth* for himself. About the same time we find him formulating suggestions for the regulation of the incorporated town of the future: “First, that the corporation should consist of a certain number of persons, suppose four, to be increased in proportion to the future population of the town, to be appointed by the Governor or elected by the inhabitants, or partly the one and partly the other, for the purpose of regulating the police of the town, under the following heads: 1st, Regulations for preventing accidents by fire. 2nd, The times and places of holding the public markets. 3rd, For establishing the price and weight of bread. 4th, Regulations for improving streets and keeping them clean. 5th, Fares of carters within the limits.”

Further we find a wise proposition for reserving

The Story of Old Kingston.

a certain part of the town lots and vacant ground beyond the town limits, in order to establish the means to supply a fund for civic improvement, and also a suggestion that the persons composing the said corporation should, at certain intervals, constitute a court for the trial of minor causes, not exceeding ten pounds in value.

But while the little town was thus materially progressing, and its citizens were planning further improvement, a war-cloud was rising from the southward, charged with long years of harassing anxiety for Canada, even where, as in Kingston and its vicinity, these fears were not realised in the havoc of actual conflict. But to the Loyalist settlers of thirty years before, who, in the new homes they had literally hewn out of the wilderness, had almost forgotten the pleasant homesteads they had left, this threatening of renewed warfare on their borders must have seemed alarming indeed. The political sky had been lowering for some time, when, in 1808, we find Mr. Cartwright, always to the front, giving warning to the commanding officer, Major Mackenzie, that military preparations were on foot in the vicinity of Oswego and Ogdensburg, and that it had been announced that the forces there would be increased by 2,000 men before spring.

This war-cloud, looming up on the horizon of the young Province, took its rise from complications so remote from its own peaceful life as to illustrate the counsel of the fabled frog to her children in view of the oxen fighting in the distance. There had been for some years no little friction between Britain and the United States, fanning the latent sparks of hostility left between England and her revolted colonies

at the conclusion of the War of Independence. The restrictive trade policy into which Great Britain was forced by the exigencies of her war with France, during her "splendid isolation" as champion of the liberties of Europe, bore hardly on the merchant marine of the United States, which, during Britain's preoccupation with war, had secured a large share of the carrying trade of the world. And no less irritating to the sensitive young nation was the right claimed by Britain to search American vessels for seamen who had deserted her navy or had taken foreign service in order to avoid the dreaded "impressment," odious in itself, yet considered essential to Britain's success in her life-and-death struggle with Napoleon Bonaparte.

To such inflammable material the "disturber of Europe" indirectly applied the torch by his Berlin decrees, declaring the British islands and colonies in a state of blockade. As a natural result, the British Government, which had just concluded a *modus vivendi* treaty with the United States, promptly retaliated with her celebrated "Orders-in-Council," November 11th, 1807, declaring all ports from which the British flag was thus excluded subject to the same restrictions as if the same were actually blockaded by His Majesty's naval forces. A provision that a neutral might, by entering a British port and there landing and re-shipping her cargo, proceed in safety to her destination, seemed, to the American mind, a revival of what had been called the "*entre-pôt* system," and indeed, was formulated by the British Ministry in the phrase, "No trade except through Great Britain!"

This state of things pressed heavily, of course, on

The Story of Old Kingston.

the large carrying trade of the United States. On every sea, American merchantmen, bound to or from French or British ports, were encountered and captured by cruisers of the hostile nation; but as the British cruisers were by far the more numerous, they did by far the greater damage, and the circumstance of Napoleon being the aggressor was forgotten in the rising irritation against Great Britain, aggravated by another source of collision.

In concluding the Monroe-Pinckney Treaty in 1806, the British Government had expressly refused "the relinquishment of the right of impressment, as a measure which the Government could not adopt without taking upon itself a responsibility that no ministry would willingly meet," as it could not encounter the strong feeling of the country with any hope of the support of Parliament. Unfortunately, too, British and American views differed as to the *status* of subject or citizen, the British position being that a British-born subject had no power nor right to change his allegiance, while the American view held all to be American citizens who had sworn allegiance to the republic's flag. From this point of view, the U. S. Minister of State affirmed, in a letter to the British Minister, that he possessed a list of several thousand seamen impressed into the British service, for whose release applications had been repeatedly made. Captain Mahan, in his history of the war, tells us that the British naval forces, besides capturing 917 American ships, had impressed from American vessels 6,257 seamen, most of whom were claimed as American citizens. "Whether," says Captain Mahan, "the greater part of these were of British allegiance, as was widely asserted in the United States, as well as in Great Bri-

The Cloud of War.

tain, was immaterial. It was beyond doubt that numerous American citizens were thus seized and held in involuntary servitude for indefinite periods. The United States could not possibly recede without dishonour. It may be said that Great Britain could have desisted. She could *not*. Imminence of national peril, sense of actual national injury, and the tradition of assumed legal right, constituted a moral compulsion, a madness of the people, before which all Governments inevitably bend."

In June, 1807, the existing acrimonious feeling was greatly intensified by an unhappy incident which occurred through the rashness of a British Admiral. By command of Vice-Admiral Berkeley of the North American Station, Captain Humphries, in command of the *Leopard*, overhauled the American frigate *Chesapeake* and demanded the surrender of British deserters. This demand, being refused by the *Chesapeake*, was enforced by a broadside which killed or wounded twenty-one of her crew, and compelled her to strike her colours and surrender four men claimed as deserters by the British navy, one of whom was afterwards executed at Halifax for piracy. This rash assertion, by force, of the right of search, was at once disavowed by the British Government, which offered reparation, and recalled both Admiral and Captain, conceding that the right of search, when applied to vessels of war, extended only to a requisition, and could not be carried out by force. The reparation, however, came rather late, and, again to quote Captain Mahan, "the subject remained an open sore, the more dangerous because, after this event, the United States could not with dignity make a further attempt to negotiate concerning impressment."

The Story of Old Kingston.

Meantime the commercial situation was growing more acute. The first retaliatory measure of the United States, the Non-Importation Act of 1806, was succeeded by the great embargo of 1808, which lasted for fourteen months, absolutely closing all American ports to either export or import, exercising a most injurious effect on the trade and commerce of both countries, and bearing with special hardship on New England. There war with Britain and French connection were equally deprecated, and the feeling excited by the embargo inspired one of the earliest poetic efforts of James Russell Lowell, then a boy of thirteen. The situation was indeed deplorable. On one side of the sea the artisan population of Great Britain were suffering for lack of the corn and cotton of which their American brethren possessed a superabundance, while on the other, American planters were almost ruined and American industry crippled by the refusal to admit British manufactures and merchandise, or to permit the exportation of the cotton which was glutting the home market.

This severe and unpopular embargo was, in the following year, exchanged for an act of non-intercourse with France and England alone, accompanied by an offer, that if either power would repeal its edicts, commerce with the other would be suspended. Seeing an opportunity to checkmate Great Britain, Napoleon, with a crafty deception that Great Britain easily penetrated, led the U. S. Government to believe that he had recalled his obnoxious decree, and in February, 1811, the United States declared all intercourse with the British dominions at an end. President Madison had now succeeded the more pacific Jefferson, and showed, by his words and actions, a

distinct design to distinguish his Presidency by the conquest of Canada. Not only he, but other leading Americans, believed that while Great Britain's resources were taxed to the utmost in her almost single-handed conflict with Bonaparte, it would not be difficult to annex Canada, so lately wrested from France, while it was also thought that, owing to certain causes of disaffection existing, it would be easy to undermine the loyalty of the colonists. Active preparations for war were begun, and a large body of regular and volunteer troops was organised. The weakness of the navy could not, however, be speedily remedied, and it was to a great extent this naval inferiority which, during the early days of the war, saved Canada from a disastrous severance of her maritime connection with Britain.

As we have seen, there had been premonitions of the imminent rupture. An attack, in 1808, on a convoy of seven merchant boats, quietly passing along the Niagara River, was formally represented at Washington, the complainants being simply referred for justice to the ordinary course of the law. In May, 1811, while the United States were still nominally at peace with the world, the American gun frigate *President* gratuitously provoked an encounter with a small British sloop of eighteen guns, called the *Little Belt*, disabling the vessel and killing or wounding thirty-two of her seamen. The American captain was tried by court-martial and acquitted, amid national exultation, nevertheless the official disavowal of hostile instructions was forbearingly accepted by the British Government. Another naval skirmish soon followed, and although the obnoxious "Orders-in-Council" were repealed on the twenty-third of June, 1812, the meas-

The Story of Old Kingston.

ure, delayed by an unfortunate governmental crisis at home, came too late for the preservation of peace, for, on the eighteenth of June, 1812, despite the protests of Randolph, of Virginia, and many of the best men of New England, war was declared against Great Britain by the American Congress.

In Canada it was believed, as expressed by General Brock in his address to the people, that "the restitution of Canada to the people of France was the stipulated reward for the aid offered to the revolted colonies, now the United States," while Captain Mahan has declared that, from a strategic point of view, the invasion of Canada was the natural and necessary course for the republic in waging war against Great Britain. But there was a large and influential class of citizens of the republic who did not believe in the war as either necessary or justifiable. The tone of a convention of delegates held at Albany in September, 1812, in protesting against the attempt to "ruin the only nation still upholding human freedom against that incarnation of despotism, Napoleon Bonaparte," showed how the sound heart of the young nation revolted against what is now generally admitted to have been a gigantic mistake. The war brought only loss and misery to both countries, arresting natural development on both sides of the line. But young America, flushed with success and over-confidence in her own powers, was carried away with the idea that "we can take Canada without soldiers; we have only to lead officers into the Province, and the people, disaffected towards their own Government, will rally round our standard!"

It might well be that there were, scattered through the Province, some of the later emigrants from the

United States who had not come thither from any love of Great Britain, and who still cherished republican sympathies. But the sturdy Loyalists of Upper Canada, with its scanty population of some 70,000, and its people generally, were far from contemplating any such surrender. Few and far between were the small garrisons of British troops in Canada, for the resources of the Empire were overtaxed by the great duel between Wellington and Bonaparte. Almost undefended, by land or water, was the long frontier of 17,000 miles which lay open to attack. But among the settlers there seemed but one impulse—the defence of their homes and families, and the support of their country's arms. The outlook was by no means reassuring. To oppose three numerically strong armies which speedily menaced Canada from the several points of Detroit, Lewiston and Lake Champlain, there were about 4,450 regular troops of all arms, of which only about 1,150 were in Upper Canada. On the volunteer militia must, for the present, rest the main burden of the defence, and the readiness with which these rose to the emergency and the gallantry with which they fought side by side with the regular troops shine nobly forth in all the records of the long and harassing war.

The tidings of the Declaration of War reached Kingston at an early date, conveyed in a private letter received from the United States by Mr. Forsyth, who at once communicated the startling news to Colonel Benson, in command of the garrison. An hour and a half afterwards the drum beat to arms, and couriers were soon on their way, in all haste, to call out the militia along the shores of the Bay of Quinté and in the adjoining county of Northumberland.

The Story of Old Kingston.

Under the belief that Kingston was likely to become one of the first points of attack, the flank companies were ordered thither at once, as was also the militia of Hastings. But in a few weeks they were ordered home, and it soon became clear that Kingston would not, at least, suffer immediate attack.

The most important garrison town in Upper Canada was indeed a vantage-point which the invaders would especially desire to secure, but for the present it was too well defended to be approached hastily, and indeed in the long run it escaped any serious attack. It was one of the four strategic points, after Quebec, which it was of the first importance for the British to hold, the others being Montreal, Detroit and Mackinac. The capture of Quebec would have cut Canada off from the sea-power of Great Britain, while on the possession of Kingston and Detroit depended the command of the lakes, not only for military movements, but also for transport, which the state of the existing roads made almost impossible by land. For the roads from Kingston to York were particularly wretched; so that the Commander-in-Chief complained at one crisis, when things were looking dark, that "the command of the lakes enabled the enemy to accomplish in two days what it took the troops from Kingston sixteen or twenty days of severe marching to do." The importance of Kingston as a strategic point in determining the final issue of the war will be more fully shown in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VIII.

TO ARMS!

In our own peaceful days we can scarcely realise the consternation and dismay which the news of the Declaration of War must have spread among the citizens of the growing little town, bringing a startling crisis into the quiet tenor of their way. For it directly menaced their town and property, so near the open frontier, with partial or total ruin, besides the risk of life itself to the husbands and fathers who must take up arms for the defence of home and country. But there was no hesitation on the part of the veteran Loyalists. Old muskets and matchlocks were taken down and furbished up; militia men hastened to report at headquarters; there was marching and military music; the parade-ground was in constant demand for drill; the dockyard was busier than ever, and Kingston, nursed in the cradle of loyalty, was immersed in hurried preparation for a most probable attack. At that time it could scarcely have been hoped for that—notwithstanding the obvious importance of its acquisition to the enemy—it was to be spared the actual shock of battle and the ruinous devastation of surrounding fields and farms which befell less fortunate settlements in some of the fairest portions of the Province.

Anxiously, indeed, all awaited the first move of the enemy, hoping against hope that actual hostilities might even yet be averted, as might indeed have been the case if the revocation of the “Orders-in-Council”

The Story of Old Kingston.

could have been more speedily communicated to America. On the 12th of July General Hull crossed the Detroit River to Sandwich, and thence issued his arrogant "Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Canada," promising protection to person, property, rights, on condition of absolute submission to the invader, but threatening "all the horrors of war" in case of resistance. It also declared that no quarter should be given to any white man found fighting side by side with an Indian, instant death being the penalty of such alliance.

General Brock, a comparatively young and gallant officer, who was at that crisis acting both as Commander-in-Chief and as Administrator of the Government of Upper Canada, promptly met this proclamation with a spirited reply, dated Fort George (near Niagara), July 22, 1812, wherein, as in other utterances of the time, the shadow of the "Corsican Tyrant" seems to dominate the situation. After referring to his "stipulated reward" for previous aid to the revolutionists in the restitution of Canada to France, he thus addresses the "People of Canada";

"Are you prepared, inhabitants of Canada, to become willing subjects or slaves to the despot who rules the nations of continental Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body; exert your energies; co-operate cordially with the King's regular forces to repel the invader; and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master, to reproach you with having so easily parted with the richest inheritance of this earth—a participation in the name, character and freedom of Britons!"

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, Brock

To Arms!

opened a special meeting of the Legislature of York, in which he concluded an eloquent address with the words: "We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unity and despatch in our councils, and by vigour in our operations, we may teach the enemy this lesson, that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and Constitution, cannot be conquered."

The hearty response of the Legislature to General Brock's stirring appeal was conveyed to the country in a strong and forceful address to the people from the House of Assembly, signed by the Speaker, Allan McLean, of Kingston, already mentioned as its first lawyer, who, for the fourth time, had taken his seat as member for the county. It also contains underlying hints of the complicity of the "Tyrant of France," in "directing the rulers of America." The following brief quotation from it will illustrate the spirit of patriotic enthusiasm which inspired not only Kingston and the Midland District, but the whole country, including the people of French Canada, who made common cause with their Upper Canadian fellow subjects and fought gallantly by their side.

"Already," ran this noble appeal, "have we the joy to remark that the spirit of loyalty has burst forth in all its ancient splendour. The militia in all parts of the Province have volunteered their services with acclamation and displayed a degree of energy worthy of the British name. And, beholding as we do, the flame of patriotism bursting from one end of the Canadas to the other, we cannot but entertain the most pleasing anticipations. . . . Our enemies have indeed said that they could subdue this country by proclamation; but it is our part to prove to them

The Story of Old Kingston.

that they are sadly mistaken; that the population is determinedly hostile to them, and that the few who might be otherwise inclined will find it their safety to be faithful.

“Remember, when you go forth to this contest, that you fight not for yourselves alone, but for the whole world;—you are defeating the most formidable conspiracy against the civilisation of man that was ever conceived, a conspiracy threatening greater barbarism and misery than followed the downfall of the Roman Empire; that now you have an opportunity of proving your attachment to the parent State which contends for the relief of oppressed nations, the last pillar of true liberty, the last refuge of oppressed humanity!”

This patriotic address seems to have voiced the feelings of the people generally, worthy of the stock from which they sprang. Animated by such ideals and motives, called to arms for the maintenance of their rights and the defence of their homes, as well as for the honour of the Mother Land which had so generously provided for their early needs, the settlers seem to have rallied as one man to the task before them, and to have maintained it, without flinching, to a victorious issue.

A few days after the promulgation of this appeal to the people, it was followed up by the prompt and successful action of General Brock at Detroit. Meeting the enemy, some 2,500 strong, with a force of 330 regular troops, reinforced by 400 volunteers and six hundred Indian allies—after a brief cannonade, without the loss of a single man—he brought the American General to surrender himself and his army, with Fort Detroit, and the whole territory of Michigan. The militia men were paroled and returned home, the

To Arms!

regular soldiers being sent to Quebec as prisoners of war. A considerable number were sent by bateaux, but many had to march on foot all the way to Quebec, passing through Kingston on their way and experiencing the kindness and hospitality of the settlers they had come to attack, now generously extended to relieve their weary and dispirited plight. As regards the remainder of that year's campaign, it is sufficient to say, briefly, that the second invasion of Canada, under General Van Rensselaer, in October, 1812, ended in the retreat of his army, after a bravely contested action on Queenston Heights, in which fell the brave General Brock as he was gallantly leading his men into action. This able General was as truly the man of the hour in Canada as was Wellington in the greater arena of European conflict, and his untimely death at such a crisis spread consternation and gloom over the whole country, which was menaced in November by a third invasion led by General Smyth, ending in a *fiasco*, and closing the abortive campaign of 1812.

For a short time, at least, the people of Kingston and the surrounding country could breathe freely, while the busy dockyard resounded with the axes and hammers of the workmen engaged in refitting old vessels and building new ones, urgently needed in the circumstances. It had already produced, besides the vessels already mentioned, the *Royal George*, the *Duke of Gloucester*, and the *Lady Prevost*. The new flagship, *Wolfe*, and the *Earl of Moira*, were probably finished during the winter, as well as the schooners *Speedy* and *The Duke of Kent*. By the spring there was a tolerable flotilla ready to take action under Sir James Yeo, consisting of the flagship *Wolfe*, of 24

The Story of Old Kingston.

guns, the *Royal George*, also of 24 guns, and the frigate *Earl of Moira*, of 18 guns, besides four armed schooners of ten to twelve guns each. It was probably about this time that the British Admiralty, in a fit of absence of mind, sent out the frame-work, blocks, etc., of the frigate *Psyche*, which, of course, could easily have been supplied on the spot, at far less expense, while a supply of water casks for distilling seawater was also sent for vessels plying on our great fresh water lakes!

Before the autumn had passed into winter, however, at the conclusion of the armistice, the Kingstonians experienced one of their few points of actual contact with the war. On the 20th of November the American fleet, numbering some fourteen sail, large and small, appeared off the "Upper Gap" (between Amherst Island and the main shore). Some militia men, it is said, fired a shot from a neighbouring wind-mill, which was returned without effect. The neighbouring settlers took the alarm, and hurried with such possessions as they could carry off, to a safe distance from shore. Meanwhile the vessels sailed along the coast, the field artillery keeping pace with them and exchanging shots with the vessels. A ball is said to have passed just over the back of the Governor's horse, as he was held for his rider, who stood near. The artillery and troops, hastily mustered, followed the fleet to Kingston, where they were paraded in a sheltered spot opposite the gaol, behind the present custom-house. But the threatened attack passed harmlessly off, the American fleet, however, overhauling a fine schooner called the *Simcoe*, and pursuing her with a cannonade, in spite of which her gallant commander, James Richardson, brought her, some-

what disabled, into port, where she was temporarily sunk by a shot that struck her under the water-line.

While the dockyards at Navy Bay and Murray Point ("the Marine Railway") were full of bustling activity, watched, of course, with deep interest by the citizens, the *Kingston Gazette* was "happy to announce," in December, "that 120 ship-carpenters have arrived, and more are expected." The dockyard at the American station of Sackett's Harbour was equally busy, and a letter from thence stated that "every exertion is being made to get command of the lake." There David Eckford, master ship-builder of New York, was superintending the building or refitting of the *Pike* and other future antagonists of the Canadian vessels, while three of his ship-builders were receiving an education which was to fit them for afterwards building Kingston's first steamboat, the *Frontenac*. Meantime a large detachment from the British Royal Navy was sent out to Halifax, and thence overland to Kingston, to man the still incomplete fleet. The *Kingston Gazette* jubilantly chronicles, on March 12th, "the arrival of several distinguished naval officers, together with 400 or 500 seamen, as fine-looking fellows as were ever beheld!"

Notwithstanding the barrier interposed by winter to active hostilities, there was still room for apprehension of renewed attacks, as long as the frozen St. Lawrence should supply a convenient highway, and, as a matter of fact, several forays did occur, but were confined to the vicinity of the village of Brockville, fifty miles below Kingston, taking its name from the lamented Brock. A few houses were burned, fifty prisoners taken, and some plunder carried off, but the raid was soon after amply avenged by Lt.-Col.

The Story of Old Kingston.

McDonnell's "demonstration" on the American town of Ogdensburg, from whence he drove the American troops with serious loss.

And here, before proceeding to outline the stirring events of the succeeding summer, locally associated with Kingston, we are able to give a vivid picture of the town and its surroundings, as they appeared to a lively young officer of the Canadian *Voltigeurs*, a French-Canadian regiment noted for its dash and gallantry in this war, which, along with the 104th regiment of the line, formed at this time part of the Kingston garrison. And it must not be left unnoticed that the latter regiment had to travel on foot from New Brunswick, through the intervening wilderness, in the depth of winter, conveyances being so scarce that many men marched on snowshoes the whole distance. This *Voltigeur* officer, Captain Viger, has left us a graphic sketch of the place and the occurrences of the time which seems almost to take us back to the Kingston of a century ago.

After describing the road from Montreal, above Brockville, as passing through dense woods and over corduroy bridges, he suddenly brings before us the varied view of lake and river, with the little town on its gentle slope, from a harbour dotted with armed vessels, the timber of which, as he reminds us, had been but lately growing in the surrounding forest. The following passages from his diary are given as translated by his countryman, Dr. J. N. Neilson, of the Royal Artillery, in a paper read before the Kingston Historical Society and published in the *Queen's Quarterly*, 1895:

"The town stands on the site of old Fort Frontenac, a few of whose remains are still to be seen. Indians

gave this place the name of Cataracoui, which means 'clay fort' (more properly, perhaps, 'clay bank rising out of the water'). The town is on a point of land. It is built with good taste; the streets lie mostly at right angles, and are straight and wide. On its eastern limits are the barracks and King's storehouses. The barracks, built partly of stone and partly of wood, are two storeys high; they face a large square. A tower, now used as a powder magazine, and a triangular structure near the artillery barracks, are the last vestiges of the French constructions. The remains of an earthwork built by Bradstreet, who captured the fort from the French in 1758, are still to be seen. Two large buildings near the centre of the town are used as a military hospital.

"Kingston is divided into two portions by a central square, which is used as a parade-ground for the troops. There is also a market-building, and opposite to it is the Anglican church. Both are of wood. To the right of the square are the court-house and *café* (hotel). Both are of stone, and two storeys high. The latter is an excellent house in every respect*; but the former is built in bad taste. On its ground floor are the kitchen and gaol; the upper flat is divided into two apartments, the largest is used by the Court of Justice. The Sessions sit in October and April annually; one of the apartments is used as a library, consisting of 300 or 400 volumes, the annual subscription to which is twenty shillings.

"A teacher of considerable reputation keeps a school which is very well patronised. With aid from the Seminaries and inhabitants of Lower Canada, a (R. C.) church of stone was erected. The interior is still

*This was the hotel then called Walker's Hotel, afterwards slightly remodelled, becoming the present British American.

The Story of Old Kingston.

unfinished. It is used, at present, as a public hospital. An old wooden house which was brought from one of the neighbouring islands is now 'The Commandant's House.' It is by no means handsome, but is prettily situated.

"The remains of a moat or ditch, also of a *glacis* constructed by the French, can still be seen in the public square. To the west is Point Mississauga, and still farther west is Point Murray. These two important points have been fortified; batteries have been erected there. The first is faced with heavy squared timber. In the rear of the town, and on the right flank, have been erected several redoubts, part of stone and part of wood. . . . They defend the approaches from the north. Other defences have also been made.

"The land behind Kingston slopes up gently. To the front is a bay" (the greater Cataraqui River) "running five miles to the north. The Government has there magnificent mills. This bay forms a fine harbour, where vessels can be secured most comfortably for wintering. The opposite shore to the east is cut into three points. The two farthest are quite high, but the middle one is, of all others, the loftiest spot in the neighbourhood. The farthest is Point Hamilton, and is thickly wooded. Off its shore is Cedar Island, which is rocky, and quite recently laid bare of trees. On this island is a telegraph station in view of Snake Island, far out in the lake, and other similar stations. The middle point is Point Henry, which has been cleared of wood, with the object of planting there a camp of observation. It is proposed to erect here extensive fortifications. The nearest point was formerly Point Haldimand, but this has been changed

To Arms!

to Point Frederick, or Navy Bay. It is a very level piece of ground, low-lying and well fortified, occupied by the naval buildings, yard, and Admiralty buildings. Between these two points is Navy Bay. Troops are always quartered here in separate and very comfortable quarters. A hulk is moored in the bay between the two points, which is used for hospital purposes. The security of Kingston on the water side depends on the co-operation of the batteries of Point Frederick and Mississauga Point; and the cross-firing from these two points, if well directed, should make the entrance of the harbour an impossibility.

“All the supplies from the upper country pass through Kingston; it is also the principal depot of military stores, provisions, etc. All these stores are usually brought here in bateaux. Large lake vessels, in consequence, seldom go farther down the river, although the largest of them could easily reach Prescott. But the channel is narrow, and the return could only be accomplished with the aid of a favourable wind. The first French vessels which navigated Lake Ontario were constructed at Cataraqui by M. de La Salle. Before 1784 the town was a mere trading post, where the King's stores and the trading houses of a few individuals had been erected.

“The lands in the immediate neighbourhood are of indifferent quality; they are, however, of far better quality two or three miles away, and are being rapidly settled. The climate is good. La Rochefoucault says that its calcareous stone-beds are of the clayey type, fine-veined and dark grey in colour. The boulders, as elsewhere on the shores of Lake Ontario, are of various sorts—schists and quartz; there are,

The Story of Old Kingston.

also, layers of granite. Large boulders, dark in colour, containing fossil remains, are often met with.

“Three miles behind the town flows a creek which has retained the name *Petite Cataragui*. It is fairly wide, sluggish and very muddy. It is crossed by the York road; at the end of the bridge a small entrenchment, with embrasures for cannon, has been erected.”

We have further, from the same pen, an interesting account of the first active military operations undertaken in the close vicinity of Kingston, which, though they did not even result in a skirmish, well illustrate the prevailing state of uneasiness. It must first be premised, however, that the American navy at Sackett's Harbour, under Commodore Chauncey, had just sailed across the lake to York with a body of 2,000 men, which forced General Sheaffe's force, of only half the number, to retreat, and held York for a few days, burning a vessel on the stocks and capturing the 10-gun brig *Gloucester*, but sustaining the loss of their own General Pike. This, as will be seen, was already known in Kingston at the time of the following incident, thus recounted by Captain Viger:

“About the 29th of April I was officer on duty, and that night, about midnight, the alarm was sounded. I was then asleep in the guard-house. The news of the fall of York had just been sounded, and it was believed that Brother Jonathan was marching down towards Kingston. This news of the first success of the Americans during the war, made a deep impression on all, and many were the rumours that flew about. York, in itself, was not of supreme moment, but with it was lost an armed vessel and another about

to be launched, with arms and supplies of all sorts for the troops farther to the front and in the west. A sudden call to arms is liable to cause a certain excitement and confusion, which led, on this occasion, to the death of one of our *Voltigeurs*, the first which has occurred since we have come here. At the first call, the men seized their muskets, and one of them, by mistake, picked up one which was not his own. It happened to be loaded with ball. He was tightening on the flint when it suddenly went off, and the charge lodged itself in the head of a young man named La Craubon, who died a few hours after.

“The *Tête-de-Pont*.—On the night of the 1st of May, another alarm. It had certainly not taken more than three minutes to dress and run to the barracks. Our *Voltigeurs* had, however, already formed rank in the square. Colonel Halkett, the Commandant of Kingston (commanding the 104th regiment), arrived a few moments afterwards. He ordered us to proceed to the centre bridge (built over Cataraqui Creek at the Bath Road), with fifty *Voltigeurs* and a subaltern and ten men of the 10th. This time I verily expected that an engagement was at hand. It had been rumoured through the day that the enemy’s fleet had been seen making for Kingston; and it was not unnatural to suppose that, with the object of cutting off the retreat of the *débris* of General Sheaffe’s small army, the Americans might land troops in the neighbourhood of Kingston. We hastened to our assigned positions; the roads were abominable, and the night was dark as pitch.

“The small river or creek still known by the name of Cataracoui is bridged over at three different points within one mile of each other. While I was proceed-

The Story of Old Kingston.

ing to the centre bridge, two other officers were being sent to the two others, with detachments of soldiers. The road which the defeated army was following (and by which Sir Roger Sheaffe eventually reached Kingston) proved to be mine.

"The **Tête-de-Pont*, on the town side, was easily susceptible of defence. It consisted of one entrenchment lined with timbers and fascines pierced with two embrasures for cannon. The river is pretty wide at this point; its bed is very muddy and bordered with thick shrubbery.

"My first care was to render the bridge impassable. I had been authorized to destroy it with axes; I contented myself with loosening the planks. In the stillness of the night the distant sound of chopping informed us that two other bridges were being destroyed. I deferred the destruction of mine for the following reasons: First, to permit General Sheaffe's retreat, should he come my way that night; second, to prevent the enemy from collecting the floating *débris*, with which he might make rafts and effect a crossing.

"The planks of the bridge were, therefore, loosened, and left in such a way that they could at a moment's notice be removed. I furthermore directed that at the first intimation of the approach of the enemy these planks were to be piled in such a manner as to offer a protection to sharpshooters, and in this way utilise them as a first line of defence. With the number of men I had at my disposal this task could have been performed in about two minutes, for, I must add that, within a few hours, my party was

*The "*Tête-de-Pont*" is here a term of engineering, meaning works which defended the approaches to a bridge and is not to be confounded with the *Tête-de-Pont* Barracks, from which Capt. Viger writes.

To Arms!

reinforced by the arrival of forty militia men and twenty Indians under the Chevalier de Lorimier. I now placed six sentries in pairs, each five hundred paces in advance of the other, while a dragoon was posted as vidette, still further in advance of these. I also sent out a few Indians as scouts. During my absence on this duty, Lieutenant Le Conteur had attended to my instructions with regard to the bridge, twenty feet of which could be removed in the 'winking of an eye.' On my return to my post, I placed my men in the position they should occupy in the moment of need. I then caused a few fires to be lighted, for we were drenched with rain. My command now consisted of one captain, two subalterns, ten soldiers of the 10th, forty militia men, thirty *Voltigeurs*, and twenty Indians. Total, 104 braves. We hadn't the two cannon; but come who dares!"

"I must say in praise of my small army, that the best of spirit, activity, vigilance and discipline was displayed under very trying circumstances on this night—sufficient evidence of what would have been expected of them if opportunity had offered; in other words, if the expected had happened. It had, however, been otherwise ordained in the great Book of Fate, for neither dragoon, patrol nor sentry, nor scout saw the shadow of an enemy! All my cleverness for naught! My laurels to the wind! Daylight found us still on the *qui vive*, excepting friend Tasche, who was snoring deeply, his cheek pillowed on the rounded form of a fat Iroquois. Hush! let him sleep! Shivering with cold rather than excitement—more inclined to sleep than to laugh—we returned to the town."

At that time Captain Viger seems to have been occupying the barracks, which have been mentioned as

The Story of Old Kingston.

built on the site of old Fort Frontenac, still retaining the name of "*Tête-de-Pont*." But shortly after, his company was sent to camp at Point Henry, now crowned by the venerable fortress known as "Fort Henry." The *Voltigeur* thus describes its condition at that period:

"After having spent twenty-one days in the barracks at Kingston, ten days in quarters prepared by us, but not for us, at M. Smith's, and four days in a camp made by us, but once more not for us, on the heights of Kingston, we were ordered by General Prevost, on the 17th of May, to cross over to Point Henry, where we now occupy tents which we again once more put up in a wilderness of stumps, fallen trees, boulders and rocks of all sizes and shapes, sharing our blankets with reptiles of various species, carrying out the precepts of the most self-sacrificing charity towards ten million insects and crawling abominations!"

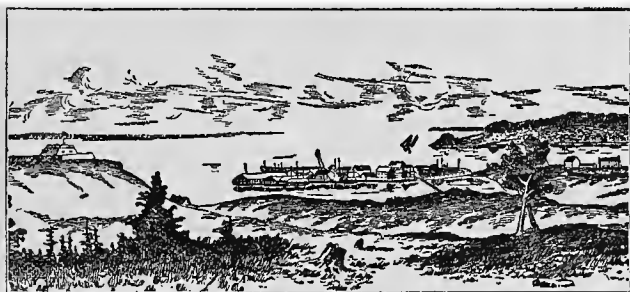
After further details of the same kind, he goes on to record an improved state of affairs:

"When we first came to Fort Henry, on the 17th of May, it was covered with stumps, and the ground was full of holes and bumps. The trees had been cut down, but quite recently. With much labour our *Voltigeurs* succeeded in levelling their camp-ground, the camp consisting of two rows of marquees, facing one broad, central avenue, at the head of which are our Major's quarters, and at the foot a small entrenchment. On a fine day our encampment presents quite a pretty sight. The Point is high, and commands the view over the surrounding country. We can here perceive the immense expanse of Lake Ontario; on the distant horizon a few wooded islands; to the right the town and its pretty background; the

To Arms!

harbour and its sailing craft. Point Frederick, its fortifications and shipyards, are mapped before us. To the left is Wolfe Island, with its extensive forests, dotted here and there with new settlements. Away from the town and the control of the "Big-heads," under the immediate command of an officer who is popular, we can hope to live here in peace, quietness and happiness!"

The Lieutenant's description of the view from the hill is not quite complete. A little higher up the slope he might have added a charming glimpse of the winding St. Lawrence, Hamilton Cove, flanked by its wooded headland, and picturesque Cedar Island, set like an emerald in the blue water immediately below—a peaceful picture which the shock of actual warfare has never rudely disturbed.



POINT FREDERICK WITH KINGSTON IN DISTANCE.

From a sketch by Cadet, afterwards Admiral, Bayfield.

By courtesy of the *British Whig* and O.H.S.

CHAPTER IX.

NAVAL EXPEDITIONS FROM KINGSTON.

In the spring of 1813, when the slumbering warfare had revived in earnest, Sir George Prevost, Commander-in-Chief, as well as Governor-General, and Colonel Baynes, Adjutant-General of the forces in British North America, were both in headquarters at Kingston, directing affairs at that centre. Sir James Yeo arrived on May 15th with more officers of the navy and seamen for the lakes, and was discouraged to find the naval force in a weak and unsatisfactory condition, inferior in equipment to that of the enemy. The squadron had been, in the end of March, divided between York and Kingston, but the western division was now stationed on Lake Erie, and, as we have seen, Chauncey, in his attack on York, had burned the new twenty-gun frigate *Duke of Gloucester*, the most serious result of the capture of the place.

At Sackett's Harbour, the chief American naval station, facing Kingston across the eastern end of the lake, through the energetic action of Commodore Chauncey, several new American vessels were approaching completion. It was necessary, therefore, as soon as possible, to strike for British ascendancy on Lake Ontario; since upon that, in the end, must depend the fate of Upper Canada, for—the farther seaward the control of the waterway could be gained by the invaders—the greater would be their chances of ultimate success. The possession of Kingston was, therefore, a cardinal point; and, as Captain Mahan

Naval Expeditions from Kingston.

tells us, Chauncey's first plan had been "to proceed immediately with the fleet and a land force of a thousand men against Kingston, the capture of which would, at a single stroke, remove every obstacle in the Upper Province. No other harbour was tenable as a naval station. With its fall and the destruction of shipping and fort, the control of the lake would pass to the enemy, even if the place were not permanently held. Deprived of the water communication, the British forces could maintain no position to the westward, because neither reinforcements nor supplies could reach them. "I have no doubt," Chauncey said, "that we should succeed in taking or destroying the ships and forts, and of course preserve our ascendancy on this lake."

It was most fortunate for Kingston, as well as for the British arms in Canada, that Chauncey did not, as his first move, put this plan into execution. Had he done so, it is possible that the town, not yet put into a state of adequate defence, might have shared the fate which afterwards befell Newark; and it is impossible to say how far its capture and destruction might have affected the final issue. But he evidently did not feel sufficient confidence to try such hazardous conclusions, and "win or lose it all;" and, instead, steered westward to deal with minor issues.

Eighteen months later he wrote, with evident regret:—"It has always been my opinion that the best means of conquering Canada was to cut off supplies from Lower to Upper Canada, by taking and maintaining some position on the St. Lawrence. That would be killing the tree by girdling the branches. The tree was rooted in the ocean, where it was fed by the sea-power of Great Britain. Failing a naval

The Story of Old Kingston.

power to uproot it, which the Americans had not, the trunk must be severed, and the nearer the root the better." But, as things turned out, Kingston remained almost unmolested, and the tree was neither girdled nor felled, but still flourishes lustily on its deeply planted root.

After his successful descent on York, Commodore Chauncey returned with his fleet to Sackett's Harbour, where he received reinforcements for his attack on Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara, which he carried by assault on the 27th of May. On the same day, taking advantage of the absence of the fleet, it had been determined by Sir George Prevost and Commodore Sir James Yeo to make a dash for Sackett's Harbour and burn the ships and stores there. Accordingly, an expedition, numbering some eight hundred or a thousand men, embarked on the British squadron at Kingston, consisting of Yeo's new flagship, the *Wolfe*, of 124 guns; the *Royal George*, carrying the same number; the *Earl of Moira*, of 14 guns, and four schooners, each carrying from ten to twelve guns. Expectation at Kingston was wrought to its highest pitch as the little fleet sailed out of the harbour in the early morning, with flying colours, followed by the cheers and high hopes of the enthusiastic citizens, who confidently anticipated a victorious return. Every condition was, indeed, favourable to success, when, during the forenoon, the squadron approached Cape Vincent. The landing was about to be made under the direction of the two commanders, and the men were already in the bateaux, when, from some cause never quite cleared up, but apparently Prevost's overestimate of the strength of the defences, he changed his mind, gave the order to re-

Naval Expeditions from Kingston.

embark, and the landing was deferred, thus giving the enemy time for better preparation. When Prevost at last decided to proceed, the ships had been driven by the wind to a greater distance, and the troops were landed during the night, under a heavy rain, to find the woods lined with American skirmishers, who, though retreating before the British charge, continued to maintain a brisk fire. Colonel Baynes' detachment, however, dislodged them from the woods at the point of the bayonet, with the loss of their commanding officer, and, pursuing them to the fort and blockhouse, set fire to the barracks and the ships, the *Gloucester* and the new frigate on the stocks. The American General, Brown, believing a British victory imminent, hurriedly set fire to the naval stores, hospital and marine barracks, and was ready for surrender. But at the very threshold of signal success came the strange order to re-embark the troops! The fleet, detained by adverse winds, had not yet come up to bombard the blockhouse, and Prevost, an ineffectual commander, though a brave man and a successful Governor, is said to have mistaken the dust raised by the retreating militia for an advancing column, and, losing both confidence and judgment, gave the signal for retreat. The Americans saved their new frigate, the *Pike*, to become thereafter Chauncey's flagship, and the disappointed and disheartened expedition returned ingloriously to Kingston with a loss of 250 men killed, wounded or missing, and without gaining anything worth such a sacrifice. It need scarcely be said that, while this ignominious miscarriage bitterly disappointed the expectant Kingstonians, it combined with the defeat at York and the capture of Fort George, and other disasters of the

The Story of Old Kingston.

summer, to encourage the enemy and impair the prestige won by the signal successes of the previous autumn.

A minor attack on Cape Vincent, then called Gravelly Point, had been made shortly before by Lieutenant Marjoribanks, R.N., and Corporal Chrétien of the *Voltigeurs*, of which Captain Viger's diary supplies a graphic account. They had endeavoured to attack, with a gunboat, one of the enemy's gunboats on the river, but failing to overtake it, and "feeling very sore and disappointed," Marjoribanks decided to make a descent on Cape Vincent, the nearest American post, where he hoped to find and surprise some of the "Yankee boats," a proposal accepted by his men with the greatest enthusiasm. The attack was carried out, but the boats were not there, and after forcing an entrance into the deserted barracks and shooting an officer at the Commandant's quarters—looting some small arms by the way—the attacking party "retired under a desultory musket-fire from the returned enemy."

"The naval lieutenant," continues the diary, "in the official report to Commodore Yeo, gave a detailed statement of Chrétien's coolness and courage, together with the peril to which he exposed himself during this brush with the enemy. He further charged him to convey his despatch to Kingston, where Sir George Prevost sent for him, and after promoting him to the rank of sergeant, presented him with the sabres and pistols looted at Gravelly Point."

On the first of March there arrived at Kingston the American General Winchester, with Colonel Lewis and Major George Madison, taken prisoners of war at the battle of Frenchtown, near Detroit. Their arrival was duly chronicled by the *Kingston Gazette*, the first

The Story of Old Kingston.

newspaper published in Upper Canada, founded in 1810 by young Stephen Miles, not then twenty-one. Some months later there also arrived, in the same plight, the Brigadiers Chandler and Winder, captured, with their whole army, by General Vincent, after the signal victory of Stoney Creek, when Vincent and his much inferior force of 700 men nobly retrieved the previous disasters of the year. Many of the wounded were also conveyed by water from the exposed Niagara region to the shelter of Kingston, where they were carefully tended. Surgeon Dougall of the Prince Edward Militia and Dr. Meacham of Belleville, are specially mentioned as having rendered valuable service at Kingston during the pressure of the war.

While General Vincent and his troops, by several successful skirmishes, were holding the enemy in check along the Niagara frontier, and Captain Barclay was blockading Perry and his ships at Presque Isle, Sir James Yeo was engaged in a protracted contest with Chauncey for the mastery of Lake Ontario, both, however, seeming unwilling to risk a decisive engagement. On July 31st the British fleet left Kingston for the head of the lake, with supplies for General Vincent's force at Burlington Heights, and on its way had a skirmish with the enemy's fleet near Niagara, resulting in the loss of two small American vessels, captured by the British fleet—two other small schooners of nine and ten guns being upset in escaping, with loss of nearly all on board—while the rest of the fleet retired to Niagara. There the British squadron appeared on the 7th of September, when another set of manoeuvres occurred, lasting for five days, during which a few shots were exchanged by the larger ships, without much injury on either side, the American ves-

sels having the advantage in weight and long guns, while the British ships were better sailers, but carrying shorter guns, for engaging at closer quarters.

Sir James Yeo again retired for a time to the vicinity of Kingston; but, not long after, the two fleets met a third time, off York, when a sharp engagement ensued, lasting for two hours, in which Sir James' flagship, the *Wolfe*, lost main and mizzen masts, and was probably saved from capture only by the intervention of the *Royal George*, which ran in between her and her adversary, the *Pike*, and gave her a chance of hauling away. The British fleet took refuge under Burlington Heights, whither it was not pursued. Next day the fleets again sighted each other on the lake, but neither attempted to renew the fight. The American fleet, however, on its return cruise to Sackett's Harbour, found and captured five small vessels out of a flotilla of seven, carrying some 250 men of De Walteville's regiment from York to Kingston.

The scarcity of troops in Upper Canada at that time made even this small loss severely felt, especially as the British arms had just suffered severe reverses on Lake Erie and the Niagara frontier. Captain Barclay, by a single lapse of vigilance, had allowed the American fleet to slip out of Presque Isle, and, after a desperate engagement, in which every commander and second in command was either killed or disabled, was obliged to surrender, leaving the enemy in possession of the entire squadron and masters of Lake Erie. Disheartened by this disaster and debarred from any hope of supplies from Kingston by Lake Ontario, Proctor evacuated Detroit and the Michigan territory taken the year before by General Brock, and after firing barracks and stores in his rear,

Naval Expeditions from Kingston.

fell back on Sandwich. Pursued thither by Harrison, with a force of 3,000 men, which easily overtook the British rear-guard, cumbered with baggage, and captured the ammunition and supplies, Proctor was compelled to risk an engagement with less than a thousand men, supported, however, by a large body of Indians under the celebrated Tecumseth, who fell on this Canadian Flodden, after fighting with desperate gallantry to the last. The greater part of Proctor's force, including twenty-five officers, were made prisoners, while the remnant that escaped with their commander through the wilderness took refuge at Ancaster, a few miles from Burlington Heights.

Elated with their success, the American forces under Wilkinson were ready to proceed to invade Lower Canada and capture Montreal, and the first move in this campaign was to be the surprise and capture of Kingston, either from Sackett's Harbour, or from Grenadier Island, in the St. Lawrence, where nine thousand men were collected, with a train of artillery. During October the people of Kingston lived in dread, only too well-founded, of a sudden attack. But against surprise, at least, they were pretty well provided, for some two thousand men, under Major-General De Rottenberg, garrisoned the place. The following extract from the *Gazette* of October 9th, 1818, quoted in Canniff's "Settlement of Upper Canada," gives us a glimpse of the conditions of defence at Kingston at this important crisis:

"By all accounts, we understand that the Americans were on the eve of attacking this place. It is our province to observe that their intentions have happily been completely anticipated, and every necessary preparation has been made to give them a warm

reception. We are happy to announce the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, with the first detachment of the 104th Regiment, from Burlington Heights. This regiment, the 49th, and the corps of the *Voltigeurs*, may be expected here in the course of to-day or to-morrow. These three gallant regiments, together with our brave militia, who are pouring in from all quarters, and have already assembled in considerable numbers, will be a sufficient reinforcement, and, with our present respectable garrison, will be able to repel any force which the enemy may bring against us. We are glad to observe that every piece of artillery is advantageously placed, and we must really congratulate our fellow-citizens on the formidable appearance of every defensive position in the vicinity of this town. It has been the general rumour, for a few days past, that six or seven of our small vessels have been taken on their way from the head of the lake to this place and sent into Sackett's, which rumour, we fear, is too true."

From this account of the state of preparation to resist the expected attack, it would seem that, in not making it, the enemy displayed that discretion which is often "the better part of valour." Instead of landing at Kingston, as General de Rottenberg, commanding there, had confidently expected, the American forces rendezvoused, towards the end of October, at Grenadier Island, on the St. Lawrence, and, early in November, slipped by night past the British batteries to Prescott, landing some distance below. On the 13th of November the following cheering announcement appeared in the *Kingston Gazette*, announcing the renowned Canadian victory of "Chrysler's Farm," which, with that of Chateaugay, a few

Naval Expeditions from Kingston.

days previous, effectually terminated the campaign of 1813 along the St. Lawrence frontier.

“POSTSCRIPT—HIGHLY IMPORTANT.

The following important intelligence was received in town this morning by express:

“The enemy attacked us this morning—supposed from 3 to 4,000 men in number—and has been completely repulsed and defeated, with a very considerable loss. A number of prisoners and one General taken by us; the loss of the enemy cannot be less than 1 or 2,000. Ours has been severe. The Americans were commanded by Generals Lears and Boyd.

“(Signed) WILLIAM MORRISON,
“Lieutenant-Colonel 89th Regiment.”

A week later the same paper contained the following details:

“We are assured, on good authority, that the loss of the enemy on the late action at Williamsburgh exceeded 1,000 in killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters; their flight was precipitate during the remainder of the day and night after the action; on the morning of the 13th they regained their own shore in the greatest confusion, and in momentary expectation of being attacked. Several officers of distinction were killed and wounded. Major-General Covender was dangerously wounded, and is since dead. Lieutenant-Colonel Preston, noted for his ridiculous and insulting proclamation at Fort Erie, inviting the inhabitants of Upper Canada to place themselves under his protection, was dangerously wounded. One six-pounder field-piece was taken on the charge, and about 120 prisoners; 350 or 400 stand of arms was collected on or near the field of action.”

The Story of Old Kingston.

Kingston and the "Midland District" had a right to rejoice in this signal success, which relieved them from the imminent peril in which they had been living; for they had nobly performed their part in the crisis. Not only had the staunch Loyalists and their neighbours who had emigrated from the United States at a later date, cheerfully hastened to the front, but they had also liberally contributed to the indispensable Commissariat. At one juncture, during the first year of the war, the troops at Kingston had but one week's provisions in sight. Colonel Cartwright, as the worthy judge had then become, was asked by the Commandant if he could find any one able to raise the needed supplies in the surrounding district. Captain Robert Wilkins, who had formed a company when the war began, was recommended as the right man, and justified his recommendation by undertaking to start in half an hour. The result was an abundance of supplies, carried down the bay by bateaux, under a "half-martial law, by means of which provisions, wherever found, could be taken at a fair valuation." Even the numerous Quakers in the vicinity of Picton, though they would not take up arms, were willing to sell their goods to anyone, without asking questions, for gold or silver, though not for Government bills circulated for war requirements. Commissary Wilkins secured their grain and respected their scruples by providing specie payments.

But the joy felt in Kingston and throughout Canada by the victory on the shore of the St. Lawrence was sadly clouded, a month later, by the brutal action of the American General McClure, in command at Fort George. Startled by the tidings of the defeat of the army destined for Montreal, and knowing Colonel Mur-

ray's intention of advancing from Burlington Heights, he determined to retreat at once across the Niagara. Before his departure, in order to prevent the British force from finding shelter in the little town of Newark, now Niagara, he drove the defenceless inhabitants, including 400 women and children, out of their humble homes, one dark, stormy December morning, committing to the flames, at half an hour's notice, one hundred and fifty dwellings, and leaving their unhappy owners exposed to the wintry storm, to bewail the smouldering ruins of their once happy homes.

Strangely enough, McClure, in his hurried flight and eagerness to destroy the defenceless town, had left Fort George, with its stores and barracks, uninjured, for the benefit of the approaching avenger. We can not wonder that this heartless and cruel act provoked hot indignation and commensurate reprisals, and that only a few days later Colonel Murray, with 500 men, captured Fort Niagara, and left the American frontier, from Ontario to Erie, one desolate scene of ruin, a retribution for the ruins of Newark, which fell on the innocent rather than on the guilty. Colonel Drummond, however, issued a proclamation in January, strongly deprecating the savage methods which the enemy, by his departure from the established usages of war, had compelled him to adopt, and declared it to be far from his intention to follow so revolting a practice, unless forced by future actions of the enemy to do so. But the invaders of Canada were not yet ready to relinquish their purpose, and the spring of 1814 saw active preparations on foot for both attack and defence. So long as the sleighing lasted, sleigh-loads of stores of all descriptions were poured into Kingston from Quebec at heavy cost, while another

New Brunswick regiment marched through the woods from Fredericton to the St. Lawrence, and 220 seamen for the lakes reached them by the same route. An unsuccessful attack near Lake Champlain, repulsed by Canadian troops, was the first move of the enemy in the opening spring.

Early in May the American forces along Lake Champlain moved eastward towards Lake Ontario, intending to begin offensive operations against Upper Canada as soon as the fleet at Sackett's Harbour, reinforced during the winter, should be ready to co-operate. The British fleet at Kingston had also been augmented by two vessels—the *Prince Regent* and the *Princess Charlotte*, and in order to intercept supplies which reached Sackett's Harbour by way of Oswego, an expedition was undertaken by General Drummond and Sir James Yeo, consisting of a considerable body of infantry, marines and Royal Artillery. Unlike the attack on Sackett's Harbour a year before, this expedition was entirely successful, the enemy being driven from their battery and their stores captured, the barracks destroyed and the fortifications dismantled—the British loss in killed and wounded being about eighty. The naval stores, however, which were the main object in view, were not found there, having been placed at some distance from the town, near the Falls. The British squadron proceeded to blockade Sackett's Harbour in order to intercept the supplies they had not been able to capture. On May 29th they seized a vessel laden with two large guns and other equipment, and pursued into Sandy Creek fifteen other boats, also laden with naval and military stores; but there the attacking party were met and overpowered by a stronger American force,

Naval Expeditions from Kingston.

losing eighteen killed and fifteen wounded. It is pleasant to find that the gallant Captain Popham, in reporting the affair to Sir James Yeo, gratefully acknowledged the humanity of the American officers, in saving from the ferocity of the Indians, as well as from their own countrymen, the lives of many officers and men.

These expeditions were the last events of the war locally connected with Kingston. The echoes of the campaign so sharply contested on the Niagara frontier between General Drummond and General Brown; the American capture of Lake Erie; the advance towards Fort George, and the final retreat of the invaders after the hotly contested action of Lundy's Lane, —the last field-battle of the war—must have excited the keenest interest in the loyal little town. But these events are beyond the scope of the present story, as is also the inglorious failure of Sir George Prevost to take Plattsburg during the following summer.

But the peace which had now been concluded in Europe, on the banishment of the "Corsican tyrant," had left Great Britain at liberty to rally her forces to the defence of the harassed colony, and "carry the war into Africa"—even to the American Capital itself. During the summer of 1814, sixteen thousand British troops were poured into Quebec, of which, however, only 4,000 found their way to Upper Canada, the remainder being needed for operations on the Champlain frontier. But the warfare which had previously harassed the whole Canadian frontier, from Sandwich to Passamaquoddy Bay, was now carried by Britain far within the enemy's bounds, in blockading the American ports all along the coast, capturing Washington and burning the Capitol. Such were the

The Story of Old Kingston.

heavy losses and calamities to both sides involved in this unhappy war, which, after three troublous years, was at last brought to a close by the peace of 1815. Yet, strange as it seems, little Kingston, though set in the forefront of the warfare, and regarded as one of the keys to the possession of Canada, escaped from the struggle scot-free, without the displacement of a single stone or any serious damage to public or private property.

CHAPTER X.

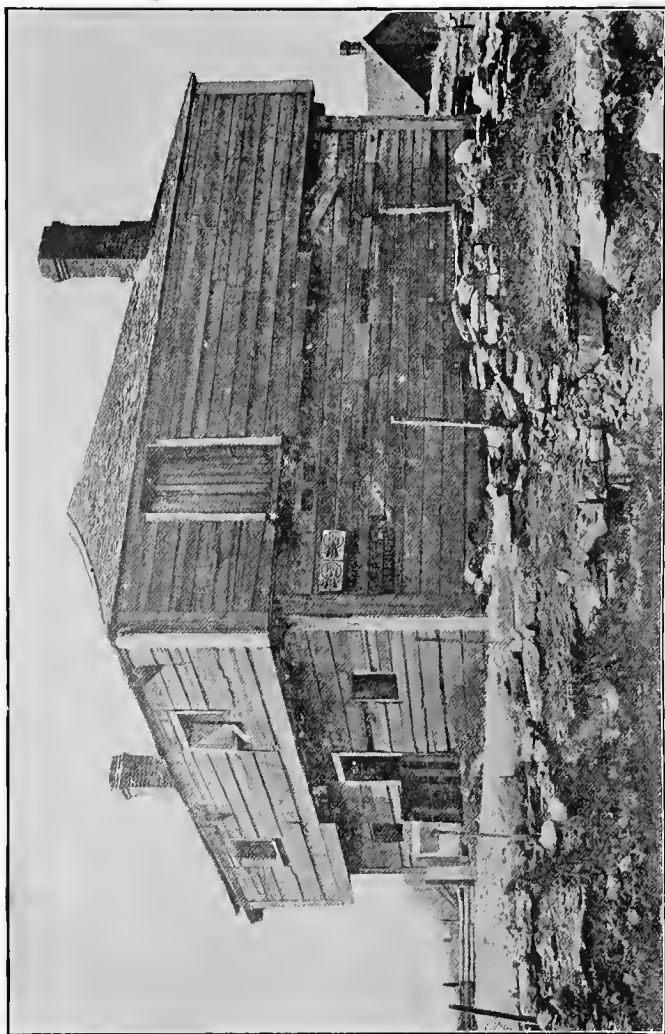
AFTER THE WAR.

The weary war, whose close was most welcome to both belligerents, had at least borne some good fruit in proving and strengthening the loyalty of the young Canadian Provinces and their courage and self-reliance, in the face of what might well have seemed almost hopeless odds. Especially was this remarkable in two classes of the people, from whom it could hardly have been expected—the French-Canadian population with the traditions of the conquered, and the great mass of the later immigrants from the United States. The strong patriotism of the old U. E. Loyalists was, if possible, strengthened by the sacrifices again cheerfully made for the British flag, and this in spite of real and pressing grievances under which many of the colonists were, even then, suffering, through administrative abuses which, some twenty years later, induced a widespread disaffection. But, in general, the loyalty of youthful Canada has been unimpeachable, and—keeping pace with its growth—has won for the country the proud distinction of being the most enthusiastically loyal spot within the great Empire on which the sun never sets.

In Kingston, as has been said, the long pressure of the war could not be said to have caused more than temporary inconvenience. Indeed, it even greatly stimulated its growth, by a large influx of population, chiefly military, and gave a strong impetus to building and improvement, both civic and military. The latter

The Story of Old Kingston.

followed naturally from the lessons and needs of the war and the demand for the accommodation of a greater number of troops. The original barracks, built on the ruins of old Fort Frontenac, had been intended only for the small garrison of from sixty to a hundred soldiers who were then stationed at the place. At the period when the war broke out, the town proper was limited to what is now its eastern portion, the land west of the present City Hall being still clothed with cedar and pine woods, and the area around the *Tête-de-Pont* Barracks being known as Cataraqui Common. An old inhabitant has left us a detailed description of the appearance of the precincts at that time still known as Fort Frontenac, and not entirely coinciding with the present limits of the *Tête-de-Pont* outer walls, which had not then been built. The old "limits extended to Barrack Street, on the northern side of which stood some old buildings used as barracks for soldiers and for other military purposes. On the site where the Haymarket weigh-house now stands, were houses for engineers' quarters, and on the point near the present *Tête-de-Pont* Barracks' stables and the entrance to Cataraqui Bridge, were buildings used for military stores. The main form of Fort Frontenac in its ground plan was square, with extended angles or bastions. The southern angle was near the line of Barrack Street, looking up Ontario Street; the opposite angle looked down the Cataraqui towards Bell's Island; the westerly angle was on the present line of the *Place d'Armes*, about half way up between Ontario and King Streets, while the fourth angle was within the line of the *Tête-de-Pont* Barrack wall, within which stood a round tower, not removed until the year 1832. The whole of the fort precincts were enclosed by a



OLD BLOCK HOUSE AT KINGSTON.

After the War.

picket-fence, the entrance being at the foot of Barrack Street."

The late Dr. R. T. Walkem, in describing to the Kingston Historical Society an old plan dating from the end of the eighteenth century, tells us that "at the point where the barrack wharf now stands there is on the plan a wharf marked with the name of Mr. Forsyth, and north of this another wharf, stated to have been the property of Mr. Cartwright. In the space between these wharves, which is now occupied by the barrack stables, there appear on the plan some houses marked as occupied by the Quartermaster-General, and near the gate of the fort there is a store, which I am told was of stone, triangular in shape, and built so as to protect the gate from a direct artillery fire. There are also two buildings marked stores, north of Mr. Cartwright's wharf, on a point which separated the bay from the outer water, and from which Cataragui Bridge now extends to the Pittsburgh shore. An old French fortification is shown to the west of the fort, extending southward from the bay, which has been filled in to a considerable extent in late years. On the bay-shore, west of the present line of King street, are some buildings which are marked as engineers' houses."

Ontario Street is marked on this plan as Front Street, as it was then called. It was produced northwards about 1820, through the site of the old fort, the remains of which were then partly demolished. The following account of the appearance of the square previous to this demolition was thus described by a centenarian, the late Mr. Sellars, an old official in the Royal Engineers' Department, who said of the old tower, destroyed in 1832, that it was so well built that

The Story of Old Kingston.

it was found difficult to remove its stones by pick or crowbar.

"The gate," he tells us, "was on the east side; the south side was two storeys high, and the buildings on this side were of stone and wood, occupied as officers' quarters, mess-room, and kitchen. On each side of the gateway were stone buildings, guard-house, store-house and ordnance store. The north side was occupied by buildings two storeys high, the external walls of which were built of six-inch logs clap-boarded. This side was occupied by about four companies of soldiers. There were, on the east side, an embankment and ditch, the latter running down to the river. What remained of it, after the extension of Ontario Street, was filled up about 1834 by the 70th Regiment. The tower was enclosed by a picket fence. There was no drawbridge, but there was a building in front of the gate, intended for its protection. The tower, which remained standing till 1832, was built of small rubble-stone, two storeys in height, and was used as a powder magazine."

After the demolition of the remains of the old fort in 1819, the troops were temporarily lodged in a frame building, on the site of the Haymarket, till the present stone barracks were completed; the officers' quarters in 1821, the stone barracks for the men in 1824, and the wooden ones ten years later. A one-storey building of logs on Sydenham Street west, having been used for housing the troops, long retained the name of the "Line Barracks." It is still standing, being most substantially built, though now externally transformed by a coat of whitewash. The stone barracks in the Artillery Park were not built until 1843, at a cost of more than £3,000—\$15,000. The

picturesque stone cottage at the head of the Park, which was pulled down when the present "Armouries" building was erected, was long the residence of the commanding officer of the artillery, and the pretty grounds, with their luxuriant shrubbery, were known as the "Garrison Gardens."

The blockhouses, built soon after the War of 1812, constituted a *cordon* of defence around what were then the limits of the town, and were originally connected by a high stockade. There were at least two gates—the "North Gate," probably about Bay Street, and the "Picket Gate," between Clergy and Sydenham Streets. Each blockhouse was about half a mile distant from the Market Battery, and the only one which has survived the ravages of time still stands, and, we hope, will long stand, as a historic landmark, on the high ground north-east of Sydenham Street. Of the location of the others, C. W. Cooper, in his Prize Essay, written in 1856, while one was still standing and one had been only recently removed, says that "on the hill on Princess Street (probably between Clergy and Sydenham Streets) stood a blockhouse surrounded by a strong stockade; one near the new court-house; one, then standing, at the west end of Wellington Street, and one near the Marine Railway, probably near the junction of West Street with King and Ontario Streets. He also mentions a small redan, on Ordnance Street, and the loop-holed guardhouse at Murney Point, and also one on Snake Island. Portions of the old stockade still existed in 1856. The blockhouses were all of the same pattern, two storeys high, the upper one slightly projecting. The lower storeys of two were built of masonry and the upper storeys of oak, while the others were built entirely of the latter

The Story of Old Kingston.

material. All save one were of larger size than that still remaining, and were armed with cannonades of 6, 18 and 24 calibre. Besides the batteries placed at Mississauga Point, the Market Battery, and Point Frederick, there was one at the north corner of Artillery Park, armed with four guns, protected by earthworks, and facing what is now Sydenham Street East. For those times and conditions, we may certainly consider Old Kingston as well defended.

But these strictly local defences were not the only ones to which the war gave rise. Captain Viger, in his diary, referred to the clearing of Point Henry, now crowned by the modern fort of that name, but then a "wilderness of stumps." In 1813 a rude fort of logs, with an embankment, was thrown up at the summit of the hill, and, a year or two later, two lofty and substantial towers of rubble work, rounded at the corners, were added to the primitive buildings, which remained standing till about 1826. During the years 1816-17-18, stores, magazines, ordnance offices and an armoury were built outside this fort. Between 1818 and 1820 extensive stone barracks were added, roofed with tin, one of these, within the fort, being 139 feet in length. Another building of hewn stone, on the site of the advance battery, which afterwards replaced it, was 80 feet long, and formed the officers' quarters. This was pulled down in 1841, and the stone sold to build two large houses on Brock Street (near Clergy). The present Fort Henry was not begun until 1832, after some years spent in quarrying and preparing material, and was occupied early in 1836.

Point Frederick also had its defences built during or just after the war, its first works beginning with a breastwork of logs and earth, with traversing plat-

After the War.

forms for guns, within which stood a blockhouse burned in 1820. The "Stone Frigate" has been already mentioned, on which the men ashore were regularly piped to quarters, as if at sea. The long row of stone dwellings to the left of Point Frederick, originally occupied by officials, probably dates from this period.

As yet, of course, the streets were few, and, with scarcely an exception, known by other names than those they now bear. From the reminiscences of the old inhabitant already quoted, we find that Ontario Street was called Front Street, and had more buildings on its line than any other street in Kingston; that King Street, west of Brock, was Church Street; that Wellington Street West was Grass Street, in honour of the leader of the pioneers, while east of Brock Street it was Quarry Street, taking its name from the large quarry on its northern limit. Bagot Street, afterwards so named in honour of Sir Charles Bagot, was then known as Rear Street, probably from its occupying a position in rear of what was then the town; while Rideau Street was Brewery Street, because it led down to "Robbins' Brewery." The main business street, now called Princess Street, owed its first name of Store Street chiefly to a large wooden building close to the river, whither the Indians resorted to receive their annual presents. Our modern Queen Street was known by the sombre name of Grave Street, from the earliest burying-place of the settlers, the site now occupied by St. Paul's churchyard, where massive stone tombs under the old, overhanging trees, mark the graves of some of the honoured forefathers of the town. In the centre of Queen Street, west of King, but facing east, stood the house in which Gov-

ernor Simcoe resided during his stay in Kingston, a considerable portion of surrounding ground being reserved for Government purposes, including the Governor's stables. An old wooden building on the corner of Wellington and William Streets, which only recently disappeared, was long familiarly known as the "Montreal Tavern," a rendezvous and central point for the French-Canadian citizens, of whom there were a considerable number. The old Roman Catholic Church of St. Joseph's—also known as the "French Church"—referred to in Viger's Diary, was built about 1808, and stood on the corner of Bagot and William Streets till it was removed to make room for the existing St. Vincent's Academy. The French residents of those days were faithfully ministered to by missionary priests, one of whom, the Abbé Gaulin, afterwards Bishop of Kingston, is thus described by Captain Viger:

"The missionary Gaulin, a truly learned, clever and worthy man, is a native of Quebec, speaking English with perfect ease. No one excels him in public esteem, and no one so well deserves it. His virtues, his learning, his patriotism, all, in this worthy priest and loyal compatriot, combine to secure him a favourable reception wherever he presents himself, and cause him to be desired when absent. For our militia men, to know him is to love him, and to us, in this plight, the Abbé Gaulin has been a most precious friend."

The original St. George's Church, begun in 1792 and completed in 1794, stood somewhat to the east of the present St. George's Cathedral. In 1822 we find the Court of Quarter-Sessions ordering that "the square in front of St. George's Church, between King and Front Streets, shall be the Market Square, and that

persons bringing hay, wood and straw shall range the waggons or sleighs containing butcher's meat, butter, cheese, eggs, poultry, flour and grain, on each side of the Market House, the horses' heads towards the buildings opposite each side of the market; and that persons from the country bringing articles in baskets or wheelbarrows shall range themselves on each side of the pavement leading to the Market House." A guardhouse in front of the Market Square was maintained for the town-guard until the city ceased, in 1870, to be an Imperial garrison. The guard also acted as keeper of the fire-station, being allowed a fee of two shillings and sixpence for each alarm; and sentries long continued to be posted at the entrance to the court-house and gaol.

In 1812, when Captain Thomas Hall visited Kingston, the state of the streets does not seem to have been very satisfactory. He remarks that "although the town boasts more houses and regular squares than Sackett's Harbour, the latter possesses a pavement of flag-stones, while Kingstonians are obliged to walk through mud." Six years before, Stephen Miles, boarding in a loghouse near the market-place, near which giant pines still towered, declared that "there was no lack of mud in the spring and fall, and it was no uncommon thing for waggons to be pried out by fence-rails just north of the market-place." The ground west of Sydenham Street was as yet thickly wooded, and from the end of Store Street, not then very long, the road turned towards the right, and took a zig-zag course to what is now the village of Waterloo.

An anonymous writer in the *Kingston Gazette*, in December, 1812, urged that the inhabitants of a town possessing so many advantages should set about the

The Story of Old Kingston.

work of improving and embellishing it. The streets, he said, "require very great repairs, and in the rainy seasons it is scarcely possible to move about without being in mud to the ankles; from the breadth, they will admit of very wide footpaths at each side, which ought to be paved. Lamps are required to light the streets in the dark of the moon, and trees should be planted on each side, while the streets should be kept free of lumber of every kind. A fire-engine, with a certain number of buckets and a company of firemen, are also required, and in order to meet the expense it is suggested that each householder should be taxed in proportion to the value of his property."

Some of these defects were probably supplied before long, for, in the following January we find another letter-writer commending the liberal spirit manifested "among heads of society," during the previous summer, in contributing to the turnpiking of the streets and paving the foot-paths before their own doors.

In these, as in other respects, the town improved rapidly in appearance and apparent prosperity during the palmy days after the war, when it was still the military centre for Upper Canada. It possessed a considerable garrison, a resident Commandant, and a leisure class of military men and their families, which, of course, greatly stimulated the social life and ambitions of the citizens. In 1816, we are told by Captain Hall, it had a "large wooden Government House," a "theatre built by the military," and shops which displayed the most attractive novelties in the way of millinery to be worn at the gay balls and parties that now abounded. One milliner's advertisement, quoted by him, announces to "the ladies of Kingston and their chaperons" that she has just procured a large assort-

After the War.

ment of black and coloured gauzes and laces, "Waterloo sarcenets," and "Wellington bombazines," with gold and silver trimmings, and other wares enticing to feminine eyes. Horse racing soon became a favourite amusement with the officers, who frequently celebrated field days in this fashion, particularly the King's Birthday; and Colonel Clark informs us that, at the entertainments which followed, the loyal dames of Kingston would appear in brilliant dresses, with threads of silver forming the motto, "God Save the King!"

Kingston at this time more than doubled its population, buildings and business, while the presence of the officers of the garrison and navy helped to create an atmosphere of Old World culture and refinement which it never lost. There were, however, evils associated with these benefits. Extravagance in dress and mode of living became too prevalent, and many families involved themselves in financial embarrassment through the folly of trying to live beyond their means. The sobriety of the town also suffered, drinking habits growing more common, especially among the lower classes. The presence of so many soldiers had a demoralising influence, especially in the multiplication of the low taverns and grogeries that spring up like mushrooms in the vicinity of a garrison, scattering liberally the germs of misery and degradation. Kingston at different periods in its history benefited much by the presence of high-minded and earnest-hearted officers, ready to devote their leisure to the service of God and their fellows; but this was not always the character of their influence, and it may be here noticed that Kingston was, in 1795, the scene of the first duel fought in Upper Canada, between Captain Sutherland

The Story of Old Kingston.

of the Twenty-fifth Regiment, and Mr. Peter Clark, Chief Clerk of the Legislative Council (a son of the builder of Kingston Mills), in which the latter fell, mortally wounded.

On May 17th, 1824, the foundation of a new courthouse and gaol were laid with Masonic honours, by Sir Peregrine Maitland (then Governor of Upper Canada), St. John's Lodge, No. 5, Kingston, taking charge of the ceremonies. The list of contents of the bottle placed in the cavity of the foundation stone has a local interest for us still, for it was as follows: "Parchment with inscription, 'St. Ursula's Convent,' or 'The Nun of Canada,' the first novel ever printed in Upper Canada; the *U. C. Herald* of May 11th; the *Kingston Chronicle* of May 14th; *Christian Register*, November, 1823; *U. C. Almanac*, 1824; report of Female Benevolent Society for 1824; a York Bank bill; a sovereign of George IV., with several other coins." The second item, showing that a literary work had already been printed in Canada, is certainly a testimony to the progress of a colony which had barely completed its fourth decade.

The Kingstonians of the early years of the nineteenth century were readers, as might easily be inferred from the fact that a public or "social" library—referred to in the *Voltigeur's* diary, existed as early as 1818, and probably earlier, the annual subscription being twenty shillings, a fee which would now be considered very high. To this library a valuable donation was made in 1823 by the athletic and eccentric Mr. Langhorn, an active and untiring pioneer Anglican missionary of the Midland District, whose labours and endurance, as well as his peculiarities, were household words in his extensive parish for more than

twenty years. Convinced, it is said, that the war which began in 1813 would result in the conquest of Canada by the United States, he determined to escape the evil day by returning to England. Before his departure he presented to Kingston the welcome gift thus acknowledged in the *Kingston Gazette* of the day:

“The Rev. Mr. Langhorn, of Ernestown, who is about returning to England, his native country, has presented a valuable collection of books to the Social Library, established in this village. Many of the volumes are very elegant, and, it is to be hoped, will for many years remain a memorial of his liberality and disposition to promote the diffusion of useful knowledge among a people with whom he lived as an Episcopal missionary for more than twenty years. During that period his acts of charity have been frequent and numerous, and not confined to members of his own Church, but extended to indigent and meritorious persons of all denominations. Many who have shared in his bounty will have reason to recollect him with gratitude, and to regret his removal from the country.”

These words of appreciation were well deserved, and amply verified, for Mr. Langhorn's loss was never made up to his charge. Tradition says that he eventually set out to return to Canada, but was shipwrecked on the way.

Mr. Stephen Miles, the young and active editor of the *Gazette*, who probably wrote the notice quoted above, was, like many other Kingstonians, a volunteer during the war, in the Company of Captain Markland, and recalled in after life his having, on one occasion when an attack seemed imminent, and all were called

out for defence, observed the young rector of St. George's, afterwards "the Archdeacon," shouldering his musket with others in the market-place. On this occasion the exigencies of military duty interfered with the publication of the paper, but Colonel Cartwright prevented a recurrence of the inconvenience by permitting him to remain in his office, to be sent for when wanted. He had on his staff of contributors some able assistants, as we find that Colonel Cartwright sometimes wrote for it under the pen name of "Faulkner"; young Mr. Strachan (the school master, and future Bishop), over the signature of "Reckoner"; that Christopher Hagerman, as a student, sometimes contributed verses; while Barnabas Bidwell and a bookseller named Solomon Jörn were also occasional contributors. By 1816 the *Gazette* had grown so enterprising that it established what, for those days, was the equivalent of a news train, to carry the *Weekly Gazette* regularly throughout the district. Three years later Mr. Miles sold his printing establishment to Mr. Macaulay and a recently arrived Scotchman, John Alexander Pringle, long and deservedly esteemed in Kingston. These gentlemen started the *Kingston Chronicle*, with which at one time another Scotchman named James Macfarlane was connected, and which long existed as a most respectable weekly. Some years later Mr. Miles issued, on his own account, a quarto paper, called the *Kingston Gazette and Religious Advocate*, and the two eventually coalesced in the *Chronicle and Gazette*, which became the lineal ancestor of the *Chronicle and News*, long published by John Creighton, later Penitentiary Warden. The *British Whig* was founded in 1832 by Dr. E. J. Barker, whose ability and energy soon made it one of the

After the War.

leading papers in Canada. It was the first daily, and still flourishes and maintains its old prestige.

About the year 1830 the names of several streets were altered, by order of the Court of Quarter-Sessions, to those by which they are still known. Brock Street only then received its present name, given in honour of the gallant hero of the war of 1812. Clarence Street, Montreal, Colborne and Barrie Streets then received their permanent names. The lower portion of Grave Street was to be henceforth known as Queen Street, the upper portion retaining its funereal designation, a difference which must sometimes have been inconvenient. The continuation of this street past a "new burial-ground," long since fallen into disuse, was to be called Cross Street, a name now unknown. The principal business street—Store Street—retained its old name until the birth of the Princess Royal of England (the late Dowager Empress of Germany), in honour of whom it received its present name of Princess Street.

In the same year the magistrates in Session petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor to set aside for public purposes the strip of land between the Market Square and the water's edge, along the then precipitous shore of the harbour, which, it appeared from the original survey of the town in 1784, was to be left vacant as a part of the market-ground. It had, however, been occupied as a military reserve during and after the war of 1812, and had become a nuisance-ground injurious to the general health. For this reason it was urged that it be handed over to the civic authorities to be kept in proper order. The Commandant was also requested to continue the two sentries who were posted at the court-house and gaol.

The Story of Old Kingston.

As we have seen, the penalties for offences against the law were often severe enough, the harsh measures of the past century being still in force. The practice of branding the hand for petty felonies had, however, been abolished in 1800, a pecuniary fine having then been substituted for it; but during the first quarter of the new century Kingston still retained the old-fashioned stocks and public whipping-post, and as late as 1822 a man was, for petty larceny, sentenced to exposure in the stocks, in addition to one month's imprisonment*. Smuggling seems to have been very prevalent between 1818 and 1822, and on one occasion a sensation was caused by a subordinate official of Christopher Hagerman shooting a smuggler named Lyons, who, however, eventually recovered, though severely wounded. All kinds of articles seem to have been thus illicitly imported, from sleighs, boots, stoves, oxen and hogs, to leather, hats, liquor and gunpowder.

A chapter dealing with the growth of Kingston during the early years of the nineteenth century may be appropriately closed by quoting—in contrast with the descriptions given by Dr. Stuart and La Rochefoucault, of the primitive village of 1795—that of Commodore Bouchette in 1815, dwelling on its rising importance as an *entre-pôt* of trade, and on the busy scene presented by its military dockyard.

“For the last fifteen or twenty years,” says the Commodore’s report, “the town has attained considerable maritime importance. Wharves have been constructed, and many spacious warehouses erected, that are usually filled with merchandise. In fact, it has become the main *entre-pôt* between Montreal and the

*Banishment to the United States was sometimes imposed as a supplementary punishment, and, we are told, was a penalty more dreaded than death itself!

settlements along the lakes to the eastward. From the commencement of spring until the latter part of autumn great activity prevails; vessels of from eighty to a hundred tons are continually receiving and discharging their cargoes; as well as the bateaux used on the river. The harbour is well sheltered and convenient, accessible to ships not requiring more than three fathoms of water, with good anchorage close to the north-eastern extremity of the town.

“Opposite to the town, and distant from it about half a mile, is a long, low peninsula. This is the principal *depôt* of the Royal Navy on Lake Ontario, where the ships are laid up for the winter. The anchorage is good, but somewhat exposed to south and south-west winds. On the west side of Navy Bay are the dockyards, a large storehouse, slips for building men-of-war, naval barracks, wharves, and several dwelling-houses for the master builders and other artisans; for since their occupations have been so unremitting, it has been found necessary to erect habitations on the spot. In that yard the ships composing at present the British Ontario armament were built and equipped. The construction of the *St. Lawrence*, a frigate mounting 102 guns, proves that the home of this fleet may hereafter be increased to a vast extent as a rival to the American station of Sackett’s Harbour. Navy Bay is entitled to every consideration, and as long as it is an object to maintain our supremacy on this lake, the greatest attention must be paid to this establishment, particularly when we observe with what care our rivals complete such of their ships as were begun during the war, and the means they are adopting, generally, to contest against us, at a future period, with numerical strength in their favour.”

The Story of Old Kingston.

He concludes his report with the practical suggestion that as vessels will not last more than five or six years at most, it would be best to follow the example of the Americans, and build, hereafter, with a view mainly to strength and power, rather than with the completeness of finish so dear to the martinet of the British navy. Up to the period we have reached, the following schooners and frigates had been built at Navy Bay—the *Speedy*, lost on the lake in 1805, with all on board (including Solicitor-General Gray and Judge Cochrane); the *Mohawk*, *Mississauga*, *Toronto*, *Duke of Kent*, *Royal George*, *Wolfe*, *St. Lawrence*, and (probably) the *Duke of Gloucester*, burned at the capture of York, most of which lie buried under the placid waters of Navy Bay, well called “the graveyard of H. M. fleet of the War of 1812.”



KINGSTON FROM FORT HENRY IN 1828.

Showing hulls of war vessels built in 1813-14.

By courtesy of O. Hist. Society).

CHAPTER XI.

A GROWING TIME.

In 1794, according to the census-roll in the office of the Clerk of the Peace, the population of Cataraqui, as it was then still called, numbered but 345 souls. In 1829 it possessed 3,628 inhabitants, not including the garrison. Its growing time during the first quarter of the century had developed the infancy of Kingston into a vigorous youth. In 1817, as we have seen, it was no longer a primitive back-woods village, but a town with some substantial buildings, 450 houses, and 2,250 souls; a *cordon* of defences bristling with cannon, fleets of men-of-war and merchant vessels; at least three churches, a Government building, a theatre, a newspaper, and a public library; and if the streets and highways were not as yet all that was to be desired, they were at least showing improvement.

The *personnel* of the citizens had, however, undergone considerable change since the first patriarchs of the settlement had literally pitched their tents in the wilderness. Not a few of these had been laid to rest in the leafy "God's Acre" surrounding St. Paul's Church, where weather-worn monuments still witness to their worth. But in many cases the sons took up the places and the work the fathers had laid down, and still kept their names green in the life of the city.

The venerable Dr. John Stuart, justly styled the "Father of the Church in Upper Canada," whose force made him a leading influence in the town from the first, and whose chequered career will be found

The Story of Old Kingston.

outlined in connection with the story of St. George's Church, went to his rest in 1811, his charge passing into the hands of his son, the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart, still affectionately remembered as "the old Archdeacon." The Hon. Richard Cartwright, merchant, magistrate and legislator, as well as Colonel of Militia during the last years of his life, died at Montreal in 1815, deeply regretted by the many friends who appreciated his sterling qualities of mind and character. His name, also, was perpetuated in Kingston by two estimable sons—John S. Cartwright, a lawyer by profession, a Judge of the District Court, and latterly member for Lennox and Addington; and the Rev. Robert D. Cartwright, who became the beloved assistant minister of St. George's Church shortly before it left its first humble abode for its present site. Captain Robert Macaulay had passed away with the old century, leaving behind a widow much and justly esteemed, and a son who soon took a leading part in public affairs, and was later known as the Hon. John Macaulay, members of whose family still dwell in Kingston. He has been already referred to as a leading and prosperous merchant, who for a good many years held the important office of Surveyor-General. In 1813 he succeeded, as Postmaster, Mr. Thomas Deacon, whose new duties in the Commissariat obliged him then to resign that position, which Mr. Macaulay filled till 1836, when he was succeeded by Mr. Robert Deacon, long well-known as Postmaster of Kingston.

Concerning Mr. Macaulay and other "prominent citizens" of that period—Thomas Markland, John Cummings, Peter Smith, and John Kirby, all loyal and "honourable men"—we find, in Dr. Canniff's

"Settlement of Upper Canada," the following interesting bit of characterisation, supplied from the personal knowledge of an early resident.

Mr. Macaulay is described as having a well-disciplined mind, possessed of great energy of character, and decided in his political opinions; in business transactions scrupulously exact, and extremely temperate in his habits. "John Kirby," we are told, "was another fine specimen of an Englishman. He loved good wine and good dinners, was extremely affable, always in good humour, and universally respected. His highest ambition in the evening of his days seemed to be the enjoyment of domestic tranquility and a happy home, made happy to him by a wife of rare sense, intelligence and accomplishments. He was one of those who passed through life without exposing themselves to the obloquy of their political opponents." In these few lines we seem to see and know worthy John Kirby, who, as will be seen later, was also ever ready to extend a liberal hand in aid of any good work, religious or philanthropic.

Regarding Peter Smith, we are informed that he "was highly respected, upright in all his dealings, and free from any moral or political reproach—a fine specimen of an English gentleman," to which, however, it is significantly added that he "carried with him evidence that he was no stranger to good dinners and understood the qualities of good wine."

Mr. Cummings, we are told, "was a man of great energy, a magistrate, and filled other offices under the Government, as we shall see later; while of Mr. Markland, this narrator remarks only that "he left a son." We know, however, that he also was a public-spirited man, taking an active part in promoting

The Story of Old Kingston.

worthy enterprises of various kinds in the town. Then there was Joseph Forsyth, another public-spirited man; and the Herkimer family, Joseph Herkimer being now "gone to the majority." Captains Earl and Murney, also, were citizens of Kingston about this period, the first being married to a daughter of Sir John Johnston, and both have left their mark on Kingston nomenclature. *Christopher Hagerman, future Attorney-General and Kingston member, was a temporary resident, as was his future doughty opponent, Barnabas Bidwell, a remarkable figure in the coming Constitutional struggle, whose letters to the *Kingston Gazette*, on practical agriculture and political economy, were afterwards published in pamphlet form, under the title of "*The Prompter*." Nor should we forget the two Macleans, father and son, already mentioned, nor Sheriff John McLean, nor the two able and esteemed physicians—Doctors Armstrong and Sampson, the latter becoming one of the earliest Mayors of Kingston when incorporated as a town, and a man of marked originality and dry humour. If we add to the figures above mentioned that of the tall, athletic young rector of St. George's Church, deriving his second name of O'Kill from his Irish mother, and possessing a most estimable American wife, whom he had brought from Portland; and that of the venerable and venerated Bishop McDonell, the father of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada, we shall have a fair idea of the leading citizens of that period.

In 1817 there were, in the township of Kingston,

*His father, Nicholas Hagerman, was the first lawyer for the Bay of Quinte, and resided at Adolphustown. At the Quarter-Sessions the father and son were often employed as opposing counsel, the latter sometimes winning his case, to the indignation of the former.

sixty-seven shops or "stores," the greater number, naturally, being situated in Kingston, the premier town of the Province, and the third place in the Canadas, coming next after Quebec and Montreal. The supply of specie had been scanty in the Province, barter being necessarily a frequent report. Such coin as was in circulation was of a very heterogeneous nature—British guineas, crowns and shillings, American eagles and dollars, French crowns, Spanish doubloons and pistoreens, and Portuguese moidores, being all in circulation together, and being rated by law at a certain current value. Army bills were also current during the war, as payment for Government purchases, thus providing paper money for circulation. The first bank established in Upper Canada was the Bank of Kingston, incorporated in 1819, and afterwards the "pretended Bank of Upper Canada," apparently so called from the forfeiture of its incorporation by "non-user," although the bank was actually for some time in operation. In 1823 an Act was passed to settle its affairs, the commissioners appointed for the purpose being Messrs. George Herkimer (latterly written Herehmer), Markland, Kirby and Macaulay. In the same year some Kingston shareholders helped to found the Bank of Upper Canada, whose unfortunate collapse is still well remembered by many who suffered by its fall.

The roads of the country—so vital a point in its settlement and prosperity—had, by force of circumstances, been left very much in abeyance, and it was only after the War of 1812, which had so strongly demonstrated their need of improvement, that an attempt was made to open a line of stage travel from Kingston to York, over roads which as yet had cer-

The Story of Old Kingston.

tainly not been "made." A stage had been running between Montreal and Kingston since the first years of the century, but in the primitive condition of the road, we are not surprised to hear that "it did not run so regularly in summer as in winter," when the snow-clad shore or the frozen river supplied a temporary highway. Captain Hall, in 1817, found the stage-waggon going no farther than Prescott, whence the mail was carried on horseback to Kingston, and declared it to be "the roughest conveyance on either side of the Atlantic." Even in 1837 this stage was described as "a heavy, lumbering vehicle, reeling and tumbling along, pitching like a scow among the breakers of a lake storm. At hills and bad roots travellers would alight and trudge ankle-deep in the mud!" From the *Kingston Gazette* we find that in June, 1817, "a stage commenced running from Kingston to York, leaving Kingston every Monday morning at six o'clock, and York every Thursday morning at the same hour." Each passenger was allowed from twenty to twenty-eight pounds of baggage, and charged for any surplus. The fare was eighteen dollars, and the journey necessarily occupied about three days, rates which modern travellers, accustomed to cover the distance in four or five hours, for about five dollars, would vote somewhat "slow" as well as dear! Yet it was a great improvement on the old-time *tramp*, on snowshoes—or without them. Lord Sydenham is said to have been conveyed by relays of horses from Montreal to Toronto in twenty-six hours, as a triumph of fast transit! It is clear that, in such circumstances, commerce in so sparsely settled a country could scarcely be expected to flourish.

But a force was already at work, destined to

“change all this.” The age of steam-power had begun, and was already extending its revolutionising power to the New World. Already the steamboat *Accommodation*, built by John Molson, had been launched at Montreal, and had carried passengers from Montreal to Quebec in thirty-six hours, breaking the record. Kingston was not to be left behind in the tide of progress. Her leading merchants, already mentioned by name, with some others from Niagara, Queenston, York and Prescott, formed a company in 1815 to build a steamboat for service on Lake Ontario and the navigable waters of the St. Lawrence. It was built by Henry Teabout, the apprentice of the master-builder of Sackett’s Harbour, at a cost of some £20,000, at Finkle’s Point (later Bath), and was launched there on September 7th, 1816, in the presence of a numerous concourse of interested spectators. The event is duly chronicled by the *Kingston Gazette*, which informs us that the length of her keel was 50 feet; of her deck, 70 feet, and her tonnage about 700; that she appeared well-proportioned, and was pronounced by good judges “the best piece of naval architecture of the kind yet produced in America,” doing credit to the contractors, workmen and proprietors. She was appropriately named the *Frontenac*, a name which sends our thoughts back a century and a half to the time when the first small sailing-vessel was named in honour of the masterful Governor. She had two paddle-wheels of about forty feet in circumference, and was somewhat slow in answering to the helm. The *Gazette* tells us, also, that a steamboat had lately been launched at Sackett’s Harbour, which seems to have been named the *Kingston*, and that the two rival dockyards, “lately emulating each other in

building ships of war, seemed now to be equally emulous of commercial superiority."

On the 24th of May in the following year, we are told by the same authority, that on the previous afternoon the *Frontenac* had "left Mr. Kirby's wharf for the dock at Point Frederick." It was not, certainly, a long cruise, yet we learn that "through some accident the machinery of the wheels became somewhat damaged, notwithstanding which, however, she moved with majestic grandeur against a strong wind." On the 31st, this wonderful steamer, "after having completed the necessary work at the Navy Yard, left this port yesterday morning for the purpose of taking wood at the Bay. A fresh breeze was blowing into the harbour, against which she proceeded swiftly and steadily, to the admiration of a great number of spectators," and on June 5th she left Kingston for her first trip to the head of the lake. There, no doubt, all Little York came out to see her, as all Quebec had come to view the *Accommodation* on her first arrival. She continued to ply up and down the river to Prescott once a week, under her commander, Captain James Mackenzie, of the Royal Navy, who was justly called the father of steam navigation in Upper Canada, her purser being Mr. A. G. Petrie, of Belleville. Another steamer, bearing the quaint name of *Walk-in-the-water*, began her "walk" on Lake Erie about the same period.

A second Kingston steamboat was soon on the stocks, built in part of the unused material collected for the first. She was owned in part by Mr. Henry Finkle, and her builder and eventual captain was Mr. Henry Gildersleeve, who arrived in Canada from his Connecticut home a month before the launch of the *Fron-*

tenac. Himself the son of a skilful shipbuilder, he helped to finish the *Frontenac*, and became master shipbuilder of the second steamer, named the *Princess Charlotte*, in honour of the heir-apparent to the British throne, whose early death awoke such national sorrow. This steamer plied between the Bay of Quinté, Kingston and Prescott, doing great service to the whole district. Mr. Gildersleeve, at the same time, built on his own account a packet named the *Minerva*, using his knowledge and experience to such good account, that when taken to Kingston to receive her furnishings, Captain Murney, "after examining her inside and out," declared her to be the best craft that ever floated in the harbour of Kingston," thus excelling even the *Frontenac*. Mr. Gildersleeve further built, also at Finkle's Point, another steamer called the *Sir James Kempt*. About the same time he married the daughter of Mr. James Finkle, who had recently died, and removed his headquarters to Kingston, where his name became associated with nearly all the steamers plying on the Bay of Quinté, and where his descendants have long perpetuated the associations of the name with the building and ownership of steamboats on lake and river. Could these forefathers of our present extensive navigation system return to behold some of the magnificent steam vessels with which we are to-day familiar, they would marvel, we may be sure, at the dimensions to which such comparatively small beginnings have since grown.

But a new channel of navigation, hitherto almost unthought of, was now to be opened up, to Kingston's great advantage. The War of 1812, among other lessons, had impressed the importance of securing inland navigation out of the range of a foe on the frontier.

The Story of Old Kingston.

To this end a new route was planned, and eventually became a *fait accompli* in the splendid Rideau Canal, though it was not actually begun until 1826, when the Duke of Wellington, then in office, was said to have had a share in designing it, with a view to military needs. Its cost, amounting to more than half a million sterling, was defrayed by the British Government. This magnificent waterway, which, including the navigable courses, is 126 miles in length, and whose massive 46 limestone locks can still claim a place among the finest existing structures of the kind, connects the short course of the Cataraqui River, flowing into the St. Lawrence at Kingston, with the long chain of lakes in the back country, and finally with the Rideau River, which, rising out of these lakes, falls in a fine cascade into the Ottawa River, close to the city of Ottawa. The canal, rising from Ottawa 283 feet, follows a south-westerly course to Kingston in a descent of 162 feet, linking many lovely little lakes, some of them picturesquely studded with islands, and, from the variety and beauty of its scenery, supplying one of the most charming water excursions that a traveller can enjoy. It was constructed under the superintendence of Colonel By, from whom the now flourishing city of Ottawa, then a small backwoods village, received its first name of Bytown, by which it was long known. In the solidity and permanence of its splendid stone work, no less than in the engineering skill of its construction, this great work is a noble memorial of its able and thoroughgoing contractors and builders. Among the former were the late John Redpath, founder of the Sugar Refinery of Montreal; his partner, T. McKay, of Ottawa, and .. Phillips, of Montreal. The contractor for the section next Kingston was a

A Growing Time.

Scotchman named Robert Drummond, who came to Kingston in 1828 and became one of the largest land owners and shipbuilders in the place. He was followed to Canada by three nephews, one of whom is the well-known Senator Drummond, while the other two, Messrs. Andrew and Thomas Drummond, were long esteemed citizens of Kingston; the former, who was the eldest of the three, being for many years the respected Manager of the Bank of Montreal, first in Kingston and afterwards in Ottawa.

*The Rideau Canal was formally opened on the 21st of August, 1831, the date being recorded on a silver cup presented by Colonel By to Mr. Drummond, in token of his "complete satisfaction" with his performance of his contracts, which included the locks at Kingston Mills, Brewer's Mills, and the point now called Washburn. A surviving daughter of the contractor—Mrs. Hugh Fraser, one of Kingston's oldest and most esteemed citizens—well remembers the occasion of the "opening," when her father took his family, with Colonel By, on a trial trip through the locks on his own steamer, the *Pumper*.

Sir James Carmichael Smyth, who is said to have originated the idea of the canal, thus refers to it in a work published while it was in progress:

"Our harbour and naval establishment at Kingston are very good indeed, and infinitely beyond what the Americans possess at Sackett's Harbour. There cannot be a finer basin in the world than the Bay of

*A story is told of an Indian and squaw who lived on a little farm within the area overflowed at the opening of the canal, long known as the "Drowned lands," and who, utterly disbelieving all warnings of their danger, persisted in remaining at their home until the encroaching waters submerged the level land for miles, and the obstinate couple paid for their unbelief with their lives.

The Story of Old Kingston.

Quinté. When the Rideau Canal is completed, there will be great facilities for forwarding stores to Kingston."

This was the more necessary, as there were only some small canals on the St. Lawrence, the bateaux and Durham boats being the chief means of navigation. The freight on a barrel of flour from St. Catharines to Montreal at that time ate up a third of its value; the freight from Montreal to the upper end of the lake averaging from twenty to twenty-seven dollars a ton, while that from Liverpool to Montreal averaged only from four to seven dollars. The Rideau Canal, therefore, became an important highway for the transit of merchandise from Montreal and Quebec, and as transshipment at Kingston was necessary, its opening gave a strong impetus to the forwarding trade and other business of the town, while the shipyards were kept busy. Mr. Drummond above mentioned, who fell a victim to the cholera visitation of 1832, had a large shipyard on the site of the present Locomotive Works, and another at Portsmouth, and built two steamers for the Rideau route, the *Rideau* and *Margaret*, and the *John By*, which ran from Toronto to Hamilton. He purchased, towards the close of 1831, the fine ship *St. Lawrence*, the last and largest launched at the Navy Yard, which never sailed, owing to the international reduction of armament on the lakes arranged in 1817. She cost the British Government the enormous sum of £500,000, partly owing to the heavy cost of transporting stores and equipment from Montreal. On a calm, frosty day in December, she was towed across the bay to the spot where she was to be transformed by her purchaser

into a wharf; but a stormy night ensued, and in the morning the good ship was lying sunk, like many other once stately hulls, beneath the blue waters of Kingston Harbour!

Kingston, it may be remarked, ranks in Canada second only to Quebec in the extent of its shipbuilding. Its shipyards and marine railways, including Portsmouth and Garden Island, have launched, on lake and river in Ontario, the greatest number of vessels and the greatest weight of tonnage; while even in the smaller department of yachts and skiffs it has attained considerable renown, some of its pleasure boats having been found floating on the Lake of Geneva. The names of Hamilton, Gildersleeve, Macpherson and Crane, Glassford and Jones, Calvin, Cook, Hunter, Breck, Ives, Gaskin, Kinghorn, Gunn, Richardson, Berry, Folger and Ault have long been familiarly known as identified at various periods with its navigation interests and larger shipbuilding concerns.

Another much-needed enterprise was initiated in 1827, when an Act was passed to incorporate "the Cataraqui Bridge Company," its members including the names of almost all the contemporary citizens who have been named, along with others more recently arrived, such as John Marks, Donald McPherson, and F. A. Harper, long the respected Manager of the Commercial Bank in Kingston. Their petition showed that stock had been subscribed to the amount of £6,000, and that arrangements had been made with His Majesty's Government for the conveyance of officers and men, as well as stores, by means of the proposed bridge, which was to supersede the stout oaken scow so long used as a ferry. The Act of Incorporation empowered the company to build "a good and substantial bridge over

The Story of Old Kingston.

the great River Cataraqui, from the present scow landing on the Military Reserve, opposite to the north-east end of the continuation of Front Street, to the opposite shore on Point Frederick, etc." The bridge, 600 yards long, was to be at least twenty-five feet wide, way to be provided for the passage of vessels, with forty feet of space between the piers." The amount of toll for all cases was specified, and it was provided that no other means of transit by ferry should be permitted. The present substantial bridge, which has been occasionally repaired, is still in serviceable condition. It was not completed till August, 1829, just two years before the completion of the Rideau Canal.

In 1814 Government appointed John Cummings to issue marriage licenses in Kingston, similar appointments having been made at York, Queenston, Williamstown and Cornwall, and as this formality was still a novelty, it was considered *comme-il-faut* to insert in the marriage notice the words, "married by license." The issuer would sometimes run short in his stock, in which case he would satisfy the impatient swain with a certificate enabling the marriage to proceed, the license being forthcoming later!

During the first years of the existence of the Province, as has been already said, clergymen of the Church of England alone were permitted to perform the marriage ceremony, all others being debarred under pains and penalties, unless no privileged clergyman could be found within a distance of eighteen miles, in which case the ceremony might be performed by a Justice of the Peace, after affixing, in some public place, a notice of the intended union. As a Church Establishment on the model of the time-honoured Eng-



FORT HENRY, FROM KINGSTON, ABOUT 1840.



OLD ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH.
Built about 1820.

lish one had evidently been contemplated by the Imperial authorities, probably by the King himself, as the ecclesiastical equipment for the new Province, this rule resulted as a matter of course. But it had not then been taken into account that, in the new Province, Anglicans would prove at first to be greatly in the minority; many members of the old Scottish Establishment, as well as English Non-conformists, being soon actively in evidence. And, as Mr. Cartwright pointed out, a population, nine-tenths of which belonged and were strongly attached to other Communions, were not likely tamely to submit to arbitrary religious disabilities, especially as some of them were the descendants of early English Non-conformists, who had emigrated to America mainly in order to escape such restrictions. Common sense, however, soon set this matter right. As early as 1795 the first Act was modified to permit marriages to be solemnised by the clergy of the Church of Scotland, as the Established Church of North Britain, and also by Lutherans, or "Calvinists," special proof being given of ordination and office. But it was not till 1831, when the Methodists, who had become very numerous as well as zealous in the Province, had grown to feel their exclusion an intolerable injustice, that the permission to solemnise marriages was extended to all denominations alike, on the ministers of such bodies applying for a license to do so. The first record of such a license being granted at Kingston is that to the Rev. Prasto Hetherington, "a minister of the people who profess and call themselves Methodists." About the same time it became no longer permissible for a magistrate to perform the ceremony, there being then five Anglican clergymen reported within the "Midland District;"—

The Story of Old Kingston.

this circumstance, with the extension of the power to other denominations, terminating the privilege.

As a large proportion of the U. E. Loyalists were Methodists, their preachers were early found itinerating throughout the Midland District, and we are told that the first of these were connected with the British army; also that the first native Canadian preacher of any denomination was the Rev. Andrew Pringle, who entered the Methodist ministry in 1806. It is also recorded that, as the people in those days had not much money to spare, their little wooden sanctuaries were built principally with their own hands, the whole work, from the felling of the trees to the internal fittings, being done by the joint labour of the zealous worshippers, a manner of building that precluded church debt, and surrounded these little "meeting-houses" of the early days with a halo of loving enthusiasm which the more ambitious modern edifices can scarcely possess. This plan does not, however, seem to have been adopted in the case of the Wesleyan Chapel, in the town of Kingston, duly registered at the Quarter-Sessions in November, 1816; as tenders for its building had been previously called for by Thomas Catterick, the local preacher appointed by the English Conference. This was to be erected "near the North Gate," probably about Bay Street; and the *Gazette* of May 24th, 1817, contains an evidence of the good feeling prevailing between the denominations in the place in a subscription-list for the building fund, which included the names of most of the leading people, civil and military.

As early as 1820 the Scotchmen resident in Kingston, already numerous and strongly attached to their national Church, had built on the site of the present

St. Andrew's Church, which as yet the growing town had scarcely reached, the first stone church in Kingston, with the exception of the small R. C. church of rough stone already mentioned as having been built in 1808. It was a substantial stone building with a front of hewn stone, handsome for the period, and indeed a great advance on the primitive frame building then called St. George's. The first clergyman who came from Scotland to fill the charge of St. Andrew's was the Rev. John Barclay, so much beloved by his parishioners, that, on his early death, exactly five years from the time when he began his duties, they sent to Scotland a request that a successor should be sent them, who should, as far as possible, resemble the pastor they had lost! This request was fulfilled in the choice of the Rev. John Machar, who, arriving in 1827, was for considerably more than a generation the beloved and devoted minister of St. Andrew's, and, along with his colleagues of other churches, a strong force in promoting the spiritual and moral good of the town and the Province.

Meantime the spirit of progress stimulated the congregation of St. George's to erect a worthier edifice, the corner-stone of which, as elsewhere described, was laid in 1825, under the rectorship of the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart, his assistant at that time being the Rev. Robert D. Cartwright, who resigned on account of ill-health. when, in 1843, the Rev. William Herchmer succeeded to the office. And thus the little Kingston of the thirties, in addition to the more material progress recorded, was supplied with four or five places of worship and with six ministers of the Gospel, as well as with schools. to be hereafter described. At times it had also a military and naval chaplain, but

The Story of Old Kingston.

in the absence of one, the duties were performed by the Rector of St. George's, or in the case of Scottish troops in garrison, by the incumbent of St. Andrew's. If, therefore, the people of Kingston had been once found by Dr. Stuart to be "not very favourable to morality and industry," and if Sunday labour had, as we are told, been "too much practised among them," we may well believe that the "growing-time" in mundane matters, recorded in the foregoing pages, had been a growing-time also in the higher sphere of moral and spiritual life.

CHAPTER XII.

A POLITICAL CRISIS.

Kingston, as has been shown, notwithstanding her exposed position on the frontier, came out of the war of 1812 absolutely unscathed. But a more dread and subtle peril was approaching, against which neither navy nor batteries could avail. This was the severe visitation of Asiatic cholera, which, in 1832, and again in 1834, ravaged Canada as well as Europe. In Kingston it made many victims, and left many bereaved families. In 1834, out of a population of 5,000, there were 300 deaths from this cause alone. The Rev. John Machar, already mentioned as having recently arrived, wrote at the time that he had remained at the graveyard for nearly the whole of one day, to receive the funerals as they arrived, three bodies being at one time laid in their last resting-place. "Many homes were desolate," he says, "and happy and prosperous families were broken up." Among those thus struck down with appalling suddenness was a young and promising lawyer named George Mackenzie—in whose office was a student named John A. Macdonald—and whose genial character and brilliant talents made him much esteemed and his death deeply regretted in Kingston. To add to the general gloom of the situation, emigration from Britain having greatly increased, there had arrived, during that summer, large numbers of immigrants, among whom both cholera and "ship fever" prevailed to such an extent that many orphaned families were left to the charitable care of the citizens.

"Emigrant sheds" had been hastily provided to meet the increasing need; but, on account of the ravages of disease, the humble building called the "Line Barracks" was turned into a temporary hospital, and doctors and clergymen bravely strove to relieve the stricken sufferers and mitigate the general distress. Among others, Dr. Campbell—father of Sir Alexander Campbell who became a Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario—so greatly overtaxed his strength that he died not long after the epidemic had at last been conquered.

But troubles still graver were gathering in the political horizon. There had been growing up, through a succession of years, a series of abuses of power and privilege which caused an ever-increasing discontent, destined to become more acute, until the smouldering sparks broke out into the flame of insurrection in 1837, the year of the accession of our late beloved Queen Victoria. Kingston naturally shared, in common with the rest of the country, many of the evil effects of these unhappy dissensions, including much perturbation on account of threatened attacks, and though she was, on the whole, fortunate in the unity and moderation of her citizens, noted champions on both sides of the conflict were, in early days, counted among her residents. It is not necessary, here, to go into these "old unhappy things" at much length, as full particulars can be found in any Canadian History, and in much detail in Mr. J. C. Dent's "Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion," which should be read by every Canadian who desires to make himself acquainted with the long Constitutional struggle through which was gradually wrought out the political freedom we now enjoy—often with little appreciation of the cost at which it was secured.

A Political Crisis.

As we have already seen, Upper Canada, being at first thinly settled, and to a large extent by disbanded soldiers, was for the first few years governed by a mixture of martial and civil law, under the Viceroy at Quebec, and justice was administered by Captains of Districts, there being no other legal machinery then possible. A few years later Justices of the Peace and of the Court of Common Pleas were appointed. When Upper Canada was constituted a separate Province, and divided, as we have seen, into electoral districts, from which representatives were to be sent to a House of Assembly, a few of the leading men were, as has been said, appointed members of a Legislative Council, while the Executive Council consisted of the Governor and five official advisers, appointed by him as representing the crown. Neither were in any way responsible to the people, and the Government was practically that of a Crown colony—the House of Assembly being powerless to carry out its own decisions. This anomaly did not greatly matter under the rule of a vigorous, self-reliant administrator like Governor Simcoe, or until certain grievances were felt to press heavily on the people; these grievances being, in brief, mainly connected with the granting and tenure of land, the provisions of the “Clergy Reserves,” and the injurious influence of the “Family Compact.”

As to the first, the generous policy of General Simcoe, in opening up the Province to worthy settlers, became the source of much abuse, as carried out in practice. Many even of the Loyalists and half-pay officers, being unfit to clear and cultivate their lands, readily sold them for a mere trifle, and land-jobbing was extensively carried on. Much land was also acquired in less creditable ways, by persons who, in so doing,

The Story of Old Kingston.

abused their official trust. The appropriations of a certain Hon. Peter Russell, who was for a time President of the Executive Council in the absence of a Governor, were proverbial, it being his custom—as tradition has it—to make grants to himself, beginning, “I Peter Russell, grant to you, Peter Russell, etc., etc.” In an early report of the Midland District, the Hon. Thomas Markland, of Kingston, thus refers to this abuse:

“The same cause which has surrounded Little York with a desert, created gloom and desolation about Kingston, otherwise most beautifully situated—I mean the seizure and monopoly of the land by people in office and favour. On the east side, particularly, you may travel miles without passing a human dwelling; the roads are accordingly abominable to the gates of this, the largest town in the Province, and its market is often supplied with vegetables from the United States, where property is less hampered and the exertions of cultivators more free accordingly.”

Still more strongly wrote the Hon. Richard Cartwright, in 1793, in reference to both the ecclesiastical and the land question, and from the tone of his remarks it is not difficult to understand why he repeatedly declined appointment to the Executive Council:

“For my part, I begin to be disgusted with politics. On the division of the Province, as we had no previous establishments in our way, I fondly imagined that we were to sit down cordially together to form regulations solely for the public good; but a little experience convinced me that these were the visions of a novice, and I found our Executive Government disposed to calculate their measures as much with a view to patronage and private endowment as the prosperity of the col-

ony. In this I doubt not they will be sufficiently successful, from the interested complaisance of some of our legislators and the ignorance of more. But such policy is as short-sighted as it is illiberal; and, however little it may be noticed at present, if persisted in and pushed very far, will unquestionably be sowing the seeds of civil discord, and perhaps laying the foundations of future revolutions." The verification of this prediction will be seen, only too clearly, in the following pages, though Mr. Cartwright, who died in 1815, did not witness its full development.

In connection with this question of abuses in the Crown Lands Department arose the second grievance, that of the provision known as the "Clergy Reserves," which had been planned by the King himself, in order to secure for the pioneer settlers the privilege of a regular ministry. But, as has been shown, the variety of religious denominations in the Province had not been taken into account, and the original disposition of the Reserves for the exclusive use of the Anglicans in Canada, constituting at that time a small proportion of the people, inevitably led to a long course of dissensions and heartburnings among those who should have laboured as brethren in unity for the common weal. A share of the provision was early claimed, and, after strong representations, secured, for the benefit of members of the Church of Scotland, as one of the two Established Churches of the realm; but this did not remove the dissatisfaction which prevailed among people of other religious bodies, whose ministry was excluded from all share in a provision expressly made for the use of "a Protestant clergy." The manner, also, in which the huge tracts of Reserve land were interposed between the lands occupied by settlers

—impeding transportation and communication, as well as necessary co-operation in labour—proved a serious hindrance to the material and moral progress of the country. This grievance, as most of us know, remained for many years a bone of contention in the body politic, and eventually even those most opposed on principle to the idea of “secularising” what had been consecrated to a religious purpose, were obliged to admit that Sir John Macdonald did a great service to the country in permanently settling a vexed question by securing the application of the property to the education of the people, after duly protecting the just rights of all actual incumbents.

But the most oppressive grievance under which the Province suffered was unquestionably the *régime* known as that of the “Family Compact.” Neither the name nor the thing originated in Upper Canada, for the designation was originally connected with the treaty contracted between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, known as the “Family Compact Treaty,” while the thing signified by it has at one time or other been a cause of complaint in nearly all colonies. The name, in British North America, denoted a “combination which enjoyed a monopoly of power and place,” making “common cause against any and all persons who might attempt to diminish or destroy their influence.” The early settlers were, of course, of very different social grades, not a few bringing high culture and social position to the primitive life of the pioneer. Some of these half-pay officers and English gentlemen were content with the modest competence that came by honest labour, and, like the Kingston citizens already described, were ready to seek the good of their less favoured fellows.

But unhappily, as in every period, too many thought only of pushing their own interests, and were not too scrupulous as to the manner in which this was accomplished. And favouritism had early found its way into the colonial management; for we are told on good authority, that "the provisions, clothing and farming utensils, granted by the British Government for the benefit of the poor Loyalists, were in many cases handed over to favourites, in others allowed to become useless from negligence in the public stores." Land-grabbing and land-jobbing were similarly exercised, often on a most extensive scale, and the wealth thus gained helped to strengthen the position of the clique that gained it. "Choice bits of land were granted to members of this strong 'family,' compacted together to help one another, and the land was left uncultivated, unimproved, until the energies of the pioneers had made it more valuable."

We may here quote, as the most concise and comprehensive description of the course of the "Family Compact"—that given by Lord Durham's celebrated Report, drawn up when, in 1830, he was sent to Canada as Governor-General and Lord High Commissioner, to investigate all matters of dispute and pacify the distracted Province. In the Report submitted by him to the British Parliament on the affairs of Canada, pronounced one of the most masterly state papers of the age, he says:

"For a long time this body of men, receiving at times accessions to its members, possessed almost all the highest public offices, by means of which, and of its influence in the Executive Council, it wielded all the power of Government. It maintained its influence in the Legislature by means of its predominance

The Story of Old Kingston.

in the Legislative Council, and it disposed of the large number of petty posts which are in the patronage of the Government all over the Province. Successive Governors, as they came in their turn, are said to have submitted quietly to its influence, or, after a short and unavailing struggle, to have yielded to this well-organised party the conduct of affairs. The bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by the adherents of this party. By grant or purchase they have acquired nearly the whole of the waste lands of the Province; they are all powerful in the chartered banks, and, till lately, shared among themselves, almost exclusively, all offices of trust and profit."

The possession of such unlimited powers by a self-constituted aristocracy might not have pressed severely as a grievance, had it been generally exercised for the good of the community whose rights were thus usurped. But this has not been the practice of oligarchies in general since history began, and the same grasping spirit which had secured the dominating power soon made that press as an incubus on the growing Province. Determined to maintain their ascendancy, the party sought relentlessly to crush every opponent, and silence every voice raised against prevalent abuses. Two cases of this kind—one of them slightly connected with Kingston—may be noticed by way of illustration.

The first was that of an able and upright Judge of the Court of King's Bench, appointed in England in 1806, who came to his new sphere determined to do his duty in enforcing equal justice. In the course of his Judicial Circuit abuses and grievances were laid

before him by Grand Juries, and for presuming to call the attention of the authorities at York to these, with a somewhat impolitic freedom of speech, he was soon marked out by the Councillors of Governor Gore as "a dangerous and revolutionary personage." When, in order to carry out his aims more effectually, he became a representative to the House of Assembly (for which Judges were not then disqualified by their position), it was determined at headquarters to bring about his recall, which, through the subservient representations of Governor Gore at St. James', it was not difficult to do. A promising career was thus summarily checked, and a valuable official lost to the Province.

Still more flagrant was the persecution, by the oligarchy, of a Scottish gentleman named Robert Gourlay—highminded, patriotic and enthusiastic, though lacking in caution and judgment, and somewhat erratic as a reformer and philanthropist. A connection of the Hon. Robert Hamilton, he came to Canada in 1817, hoping to promote a large scheme of immigration from his native land; but, having settled in the County of Oxford, he soon discovered the existence of great hindrances to the progress of the country. He at once began to institute extensive enquiries into their causes, addressing thirty-one queries to the principal inhabitants of each township, a procedure which, of course, provoked the enmity of all interested in the continuance of the said causes. A vote of enquiry into the condition of affairs, carried in the Assembly, was made abortive by an abrupt prorogation, and Gourlay, with the courage of his convictions, suggested a convention of deputies to meet at Toronto and draft a petition to the Imperial

The Story of Old Kingston.

Parliament for an investigation into the affairs of Upper Canada. It was, of course, judged necessary to silence him. The convention met, but its resolutions were opposed by the Government, and Gourlay, under a charge of libelling the Government in the published draft of a petition to the Crown, was arrested at Kingston, and, after some days' confinement in gaol, was tried there in August, 1818, on prosecution of Mr. Attorney-General Robinson. But notwithstanding all the force of that gentleman's eloquence, Mr. Gourlay, conducting his own defence, so fully exposed the baselessness of the indictment, that he was acquitted, to the great satisfaction of the community, whose feeling ran high in his favour. A second arrest, with similar result, followed at Brockville, the alleged "libel" in that case consisting, we are told, of a faithful picture of the abuses existing in the Crown Lands Department, contained in a draft of a petition to the Prince Regent, approved, printed and published by sixteen residents of Niagara District, six of whom were magistrates.

A third attempt to remove so troublesome a champion was more successful. Under an early "Alien Act," repealed two years afterwards, permitting the summary banishment of an "alien" suspected of seditious practices, Mr. Gourlay, a most loyal British subject and a resident for some eighteen months in the Province, was again arrested at Niagara, and on testimony of a worthless tool, was, by his two strongly interested judges, ordered to leave the Province within three days. This order Mr. Gourlay declined to obey; because, as he afterwards wrote, it would have meant ruin to the business on which he had embarked, and "because it would have been a tacit acknowledg-

ment of guilt whereof I was unconscious, a surrender of the noblest British rights and a holding light my natural allègiance."

On the expiry of the three days he was again arrested, refused bail, and in defiance of his plainest rights as a British subject, was kept closely confined in Niagara Gaol for the following six months—a treatment which so broke down his high spirit and fine *physique*, that, when the time of trial arrived, his faculties had become so impaired as to render him unable to defend his own cause, or even to present the written defence and protest which he had previously prepared. In such circumstances, conviction was a foregone conclusion, and he was forthwith banished from Canada and forced to take refuge in the United States. There his true loyalty and patriotism were proved during the troublous times that followed the short-lived "Rebellion," when he hastened to send the Government timely warning of a filibustering movement then being organised against Canada in Cleveland, where he was residing. At that time he was invited by the Governor to return, but refused to do so until his sentence of banishment should be formally reversed, which was ultimately done. The writer well remembers seeing him, in her childhood, in the Manse at Kingston, on his visits to his connections in that city;—a venerable and even heroic figure, in his premature old age, and able to refer, without bitterness, to his chequered career and the wrongs he had suffered.

These two cases illustrate the manner in which justice was meted out in Canada at that period by a class which seemed determined

The Story of Old Kingston.

“That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can!”

But the spirit of reform was in the air, and could not be permanently stifled, even though those who expressed it, whether judges, parliamentary representatives, or newspaper editors, did so at their peril, and frequently suffered in personal or financial interests. The large and intelligent class of Canadian yeomen that now peopled the country to the west of York were becoming more and more impatient of a *régime* under which the redress of abuses seemed an impossibility. For two successive Parliaments the Reform element largely predominated in the Legislature, and passed many useful measures, which were promptly vetoed by the combination of the Legislative Council and the Executive. Personal embassies to Britain were tried, and failed, being always checkmated by the Governor's secret despatches. The Executive, though not responsible to the Canadian Parliament, was supposed to be so to that of Great Britain; but this could amount to little when Downing Street, three thousand miles away, saw through the spectacles of its official representative alone. And that representative, unfortunately, did not rise to the needs of the time. The weak and nerveless administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, the short, sharp, soldierly methods of Sir John Colborne, and, above all, the foolish and disastrous *régime* of Sir Francis Head, combined with the restless and persistent agitation of the then leader of Reform, William Lyon Mackenzie, to fan the long suppressed discontent into a violent explosion. Indeed, it seemed that, had a perverse fate devised means to bring about a catastrophe, it could not have provided more likely

material than the juxtaposition, at such a crisis, of two such characters as these last-named. By no means dissimilar in surface faults and weaknesses, they were utterly opposed in tradition, purpose and aim; and in viewing the history of the time in the perspective of distance, it seems that a sharp collision was an inevitable conclusion. Mackenzie was, as is now pretty generally recognised, a man of patriotic ideals and impulses, but, goaded by injustice, wounded vanity and the pressure of untoward fate, he gradually degenerated into a reckless and bitter agitator, exhibiting eventually, in manifest mental aberration, the lack of mental balance which had wrecked his best projects. He has been aptly styled a "bundle of contradictions," and certainly few men have experienced such startling reverses of fortune. At one time an obscure printer suffering a lawless raid upon his printing office on account of strong opinions expressed in too "strong language," he is, a few years later, returned as a representative to Parliament, and appointed authorised printer of the Debates; one day forcibly expelled from the House by the opposite party, we find him shortly after elected the first Mayor of Toronto and the first Mayor in Upper Canada as well. He did not add to his credit by his official record, and during his Mayoralty he had the indiscretion to publish a private letter from Joseph Hume, the revolutionary tone of which brought out prompt disclaimers of such opinions from Reform leaders and Reform journals, notably the *Kingston Whig*. Three years later we find him a hunted and outlawed refugee, the discredited leader of an abortive insurrection; and again, before fifteen years had passed, returned to the Parliament of United Canada, as member for Haldi-

The Story of Old Kingston.

mand, after defeating a no less influential candidate than the late Hon. George Brown! Fortune's wheel, in his case, made rapid revolutions; but the reverses were too much for him, and he died a broken and disappointed man, with a mind clouded by mental disorder,—a not surprising result of so stormy a career.

It is not necessary here to enter into details of the ill-starred and ill-organised "rising" into which his persistent agitation had drawn numbers of good citizens, respectable yeomen, and even some reputable leaders of reform, who had been persuaded by him that the obstructive *régime* might be easily and bloodlessly terminated by a bold and sudden stroke. The moment appeared propitious. Toronto had been left defenceless by the despatch of its garrison to assist in quelling a formidable insurrection then convulsing Lower Canada; and Sir Francis Head, who, according to Lord Durham's Report, had acted throughout as if British connection in Canada depended on his having his own views supported by a majority of the Legislature, now obstinately refused to believe in the danger of which he was warned, or to take any measures to provide against it. It was due to the untiring exertions of Colonel FitzGibbon, in the first place, as well as to the failure of the "rebels" to strike at the opportune moment, that the Capital was not, in December, 1837, quietly seized by a few hundred "embattled farmers," fired with something of the same spirit as the men of Massachusetts of the previous century. But these, for the most part, were of different fibre, lacking organisation, adequate arms, and competent leadership, while the rash impetuosity of Mackenzie was enough to wreck the best concerted enter-

prise. It doubtless seemed to the insurgents a perverse fate which prevented their success in a movement which they deemed for the best interests of the country; but the most ardent reformer may well rest satisfied that the result was ordered by the "divinity that shapes our ends," and Canada was thus providentially saved from what might have become a sanguinary civil war. As it was, the skirmish at "Montgomery's," the rebel rendezvous near Toronto, between a thousand militia men, hastily collected, and about a third of that number of poorly-armed farmers, naturally ended in the defeat of the latter, happily with the loss of only one life, that of Louis Wideman, a farmer, who died bravely, though "a martyr by mistake" in what he believed a patriotic cause. There were a few wounded on both sides, and two valuable lives had been previously sacrificed in a casual brush, those of the gallant Colonel Moodie, and one, "Captain" Anderson, the only competent leader on the side of the malcontents, whose death was one of the principal causes of their defeat. The rising speedily collapsed, as did its echo farther west, and the leaders of the movement were soon either refugees in the neighbouring republic or lodged in Canadian gaols, which were soon filled to overflowing with open rebels or "suspects." For, as often happens at a time of general excitement, judgment was meted out to innocent as well as guilty, on very slender grounds. Mackenzie, the Frankenstein of the movement, escaped across the frontier, notwithstanding the reward of a thousand pounds offered for his capture; but two brave men—Lount and Mathews—patriots in intention, though technically "rebels," suffered, as his scape-goats, the extreme penalty of the law. Mackenzie, goaded to madness by defeat, did not

The Story of Old Kingston.

find it difficult to awaken, along the Niagara frontier, the smouldering embers of hostility left by the War of 1812, and a rabble horde of "sympathisers" long kept the border in a state of turmoil by their lawless raids. The notorious operations on Navy Island, together with the burning of the American steamer *Caroline*, at an American port, by a party of Canadian militia and Indians, very nearly threw Great Britain into another war with the United States. But this time wiser counsels prevailed, and the republican authorities soon interposed a strong hand to check the lawless demonstrations from American territory.

Kingston, however, in the interval, suffered no little perturbation in consequence of an alarming report that Mackenzie was on his way across the frozen lake, at the head of a large body of American "filibusters," to take the town! Many of the citizens mustered at the barracks, as some of them had done twenty-five years before, in readiness to bear arms in its defence, wearing handkerchiefs tied on one arm to distinguish friend from foe in the darkness. Silver plate and other valuables were sent to the fort for safe keeping, and throughout one cold winter night the people listened in anxious suspense for the firing of a signal gun from the fort, and the tolling of the town bell, as a signal of the expected approach of the enemy, and a summons to send their families to take refuge in the fort. Happily neither gun nor bell broke the frosty stillness, and the dreaded attack was never made. It had, indeed, been planned, but appears to have been given up by Mackenzie, because the chief command was given to his enemy, Van Rensselaer. Somewhat later this filibustering leader assembled a large body of his men at French Creek, with the full intention of making an

A Political Crisis.

attack on Kingston. He took a round-about route, having his men conveyed to Hickory Island, within Canadian territory, about four miles below Ganonoque, taking, as his counsellor and guide, the notorious Canadian filibuster, "Bill Johnston." This movement soon became known by the Canadian authorities, and a large body of militia from the Midland and Johnstown Districts speedily assembled at Kingston; but before they could advance to attack the invaders, the latter had hurriedly dispersed, Van Rensselaer's name and influence being, thereafter, at a discount. "Bill Johnston," however, was by no means crushed, but, in the following May, carried out a most unprovoked outrage in the plundering and burning of the steamer *Sir Robert Peel* at Wells' Island, eight miles below Gananoque, robbing the passengers and setting fire to the steamer, and shortly after made a raid on Amherst Island. The pirate took refuge in his hiding-place amid the mazes of the "Thousand Islands," evaded the search of four bodies of Marines from Kingston, and, assisted by his fearless daughter, lived an outlaw's life, until he eventually settled down peacefully in the United States.

The river passage was, during the remainder of the season, vigilantly policed by both Canadian and American authorities; yet, notwithstanding this, there occurred in November the desperate attack on the historic windmill below Prescott, which still stands as the monument of one of the most sharply and gallantly contested actions in Canadian history. The insurgents, when the fortunes of the day were plainly against them, were, according to the statement of the leader, Von Schultz, left to their fate by the American authorities, and were, on the arrival of steamers from Kingston

with heavier guns, compelled to make an unconditional surrender. A hundred and sixty prisoners were marched to Kingston, a few having escaped to the woods. Colonel Von Schultz, the captured leader of the futile attack, was a Polish exile, of liberal education, high aims, and abilities worthy of a better cause, and had been deluded into thinking that he was fighting in the sacred name of liberty. Along with a number of the other prisoners, he was tried for his life at Kingston, and although most ably defended by an eloquent young counsel, now known to the world as Sir John A. Macdonald, he, with nine others, underwent the extreme penalty of the law. In consideration of his military rank, the execution of Colonel Shultz alone took place at Fort Henry, that of the others occurring at the gaol, and naturally casting a shade of gloom over the place. As the young Polish officer was known to have been the victim of designing conspirators, his fate, in particular, excited much commiseration among the loyal people of Kingston.

The equally futile raid at Windsor, accompanied by much brutality and cold-blooded murder, was the last of these miserable filibustering incursions which harassed the people of Upper Canada, and closed the weary succession of disturbances following the first outbreak. Like many other calamities, however, this "cloud" had "a silver lining," for there can be no doubt that the Rebellion greatly accelerated the establishment of Canada's position as a self-governing colony. It was a forcible object-lesson, convincing the British Government at last that there were real and pressing grievances to be redressed, and that the people of the North American colonies, who had previously proved themselves equal to keeping at bay, for two

years, a formidable invasion from a much stronger neighbour, were, in the words of Lord Durham's Report, "a people on whom we may safely rely, and to whom we must not grudge power"—a people, in short, who could no longer be held in leading-strings, guided by Downing Street, through Governors advised by a Crown-appointed Council.

Sir Francis Head's administration closed shortly after the crushing of the Rebellion for which his inefficiency was largely responsible. Following his resignation, forced by his defiance of instructions from the Colonial Office, came Sir George Arthur, from the administration of the criminal colony of Van Diemen's Land, to deal out summary punishment to the Upper Canada "rebels," and, as a natural sequence of the affair, there was no little injustice done to innocent persons by way of clearing up the situation.

But more radical remedies were, happily, soon to be applied. As it was felt in Britain that the government of the North American colonies required very careful readjustment, and that a broad and liberal policy was absolutely necessary, the Earl of Durham, who had shown himself a man well fitted for such a mission, was appointed Governor-General of British North America, and Lord High Commissioner, with full and special powers of action. He, in conjunction with his able Secretary, Mr. Charles Buller, discharged his important mission in a manner that fully justified high expectations, and laid Canada under a debt of gratitude for its relief from a long-standing incubus. Of his "Report," it has been observed that "in the course of the next twenty years it changed the colonial policy of the Empire; and the principles laid down in it changed Canada from a revolted (or revolting) colony

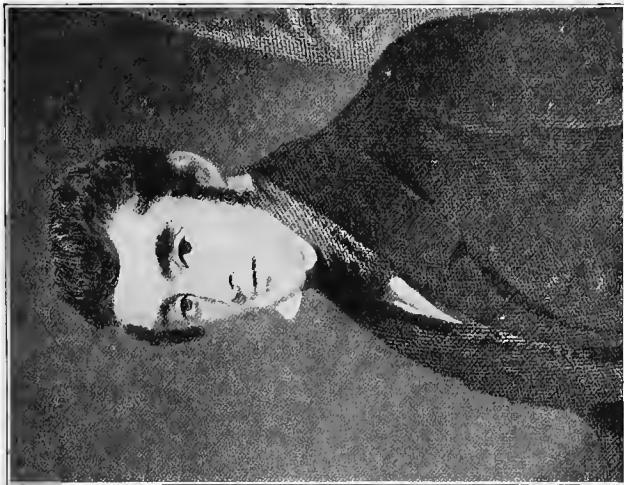
into one of the most loyal dependencies of the British Crown." We may, indeed, go further, and add that these principles form the foundation-stone of the "Greater Britain" of to-day. Among other beneficent measures devised and carried out by Lord Durham was that of an amnesty for all political offenders, then crowded more especially into the Lower Canadian gaols, by his ordinance appropriately dated on the Coronation Day of Queen Victoria; exception, however, being made of the principal ringleaders, who were exiled to Bermuda for life. This act—though disallowed by the Home authorities as *ultra vires*, and exposing him to much parliamentary criticism as being "high-handed" and "illegal"—seemed to the Canadian people in general a humane settlement of a perplexing problem. But the official disallowance of his policy brought his successful and pacific administration to an abrupt close, and he sailed for England without awaiting a formal recall, just when he had effectually restored tranquility, and when the question of the Confederation of British North America was actually under consideration! This disastrous close of his able and successful mission was a bitter experience, and seems to have hastened the death of the noble Earl, which occurred within two years after his leaving Canada.

But his famous "Report" lived after him, a valuable legacy to the Canadian people, and its closing recommendation regarding the reunion of Upper and Lower Canada, was, with other suggestions, promptly carried out. We may well, then, accept the retrospective view of an unhappy rising which should never have been provoked, and which at the time brought suffering and loss to very many—as not, on the whole, an unmitigated



COLONEL JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

First Governor of Upper Canada.



LORD SYDENHAM

First Governor-General of Upper and Lower Canada re-united.

A Political Crisis.

calamity. To quote again an historian who has studied the period carefully: "It accelerated the just and moderate constitutional changes for which the Reform party had for years contended, and which, but for the Rebellion, would have been long delayed. It led to Lord Durham's mission, which brought everything else in its train. From Lord Durham's mission sprang the Union, from the Union sprang the concession of Responsible Government, the end of Family Compact domination, the establishment of municipal institutions, and reform in all the Departments of State."

CHAPTER XIII.

KINGSTON AS THE CAPITAL OF CANADA.

In the same eventful year which saw the close of the famous "Rebellion," Kingston, having passed safely and quietly through another crisis in the country's history, was incorporated under the style and commonalty of the town of Kingston. The first Mayor was the late Thomas Kirpatrick, Esq., long an esteemed citizen, elected on the 2nd of April, 1838. He, however, resigned the office before the conclusion of the year, having removed his residence outside of the town limits, and John S. Cartwright was elected for the remainder of the year, but declined to act. In the following spring Henry S. Cassady, Esq., was elected for the next year, but died in September, when Dr. James Sampson, already mentioned, was elected for the first time, receiving re-election twice afterwards, though not in consecutive years. Messrs. Thomas W. Robinson, Counter, Ford and Hill, and Dr. Robert McLean, were the other Mayors of the first decade after incorporation, on the whole the most eventful in its history.

The battle for Responsible Government had now been practically fought. Lord Durham's memorable Report had been submitted to the British Parliament, and the Committee appointed to consider and report, desiring fuller information as to the readiness of the two Provinces to concur in the proposed Constitutional changes, selected the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Charles Poulett Thompson, as the man

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

best qualified for the mission, and the choice was amply justified. He came to Canada as Governor-General in 1838, and threw himself into his appointed work with such energy, enthusiasm and unwearied devotion, that he soon won his spurs, and, as Lord Sydenham, earned also the respect and gratitude of the country he had come to govern. It was mainly through his unremitting efforts that the Bill for the union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was passed by the Imperial Parliament, and reluctantly assented to by the Conservatives of Upper Canada, who, hitherto, had strongly opposed such a measure. In Lower Canada the opposition had been still stronger, but as it possessed at the time no popular Legislature, the Union was carried through by a Council specially appointed for the time; and the Act of Union came into force, by Royal proclamation, on the tenth of February, 1841, of course bringing to a close Sir George Arthur's term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

This great change in colonial policy brought to Kingston the long coveted prize which, just half a century before, had slipped from her expectant grasp, through Lord Sydenham's selection of the town as the Capital of the United Provinces—the contract of Union leaving the choice with him. Kingston was now, of course, a much more central point than York (Toronto), and though its population was as yet only between five and six thousand, less than half the number Toronto had already attained, it was an important naval and military depôt, with the traditionary honour of its previous choice by Lord Dorchester, and had escaped the immediate influence of the factious antagonism which had so long disturbed Toronto.

The Story of Old Kingston.

The advancement of the little town to such an important position caused much elation among its citizens, as well as what we should now call a "boom" in real estate. Rents more than doubled in a few weeks, and high hopes of civic prosperity were excited, only to vanish too soon. In the absence of any Government buildings for Legislative purposes, temporary substitutes were found. The central portion of the present General Hospital, then just completed, became for the time the House of Parliament. A spacious new residence, shortly before built by Archdeacon Stuart, now remodelled into residences for the Principal and professors of Queen's University, was turned to account as lodgings for the members, both of these buildings being commodious and pleasantly situated, commanding a fine view of the lake. *Alwing-

*In Alwington House, Kingston possesses an interesting link with the heroic age of French-Canadian chivalry, as well as with the emigration of the U. E. Loyalists. "Baron Grant" was the fourth Baron of the distinguished family of Le Moyne de Longueuil, which gave two Governors to French Canada. He was descended from the famous pioneer, Charles Le Moyne, a contemporary of La Salle, and his chivalrous ancestors rendered many important services to New France, both in war and in discovery. The Scottish patronymic Grant came into the family through the marriage of his father, Captain Grant, with the then heiress to the French title, which - was latterly recognized under the British régime. His son, "Baron Grant," married a lady belonging to the well-known U. E. L. family of Coffin, and Alwington was named after both the New Brunswick and old English homes. He probably settled at Kingston on account of his extensive property at Wolfe Island, but his son did not very long remain there, and as Alwington came into the possession of his only daughter, who had married the Rev. J. A. Allen, a native of Ireland, and the first clergyman on Wolfe Island, it became the home of his family for many years. Mr. Allen was well-known and highly esteemed as an accomplished man of letters, and an able wielder of the pen; and under its genial host and hostess, Alwington, with its beautiful grounds, was a favourite resort and a most hospitable home. In it was born their son, Grant Allen, the popular novelist and brilliant scientific writer. Only two members of the family now remain in Kingston—a widowed daughter of Mr. Allen, Mrs. J. Maule Machar, and his surviving sister, Miss Dora Allen, highly esteemed in Kingston for their long ministry of faith and love.

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

ton House, at some distance from the town, on the shore of the lake, had been recently built by the then Baron de Longueuil, long a respected citizen of Kingston, being more commonly known as "Baron Grant." It now supplied what was for that period a not unworthy vice-regal residence, and with some temporary additions, became the scene of much official hospitality under three successive Governors—Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot, and Sir Charles—afterwards Lord—Metcalf; three of the best and ablest of the long succession of British pro-consuls who have, in turn, guided the destinies of Canada.

Parliament had been summoned to meet on the 14th of June, 1841, and on the morning of that day seventy-nine members had arrived, causing, we may be sure, no little excitement in the little town, which, we are told, had been "victualled as if to stand a siege." As Lord Sydenham did not reach Kingston till the following day, Parliament was actually opened by Commission. But, on the 15th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Lord Sydenham, with a numerous staff, civil and military, and amid much rejoicing on the part of the people, proceeded to the temporary Parliament House to deliver his opening speech to the first Parliament of United Canada. Most, if not all of those who had been present half a century before, at Governor Simcoe's inauguration of the first Government of Upper Canada, had left this earthly scene, but the sons and successors of not a few of them were present. It was indeed a gala day in Kingston, and is still vividly remembered by a lady*, one of Kingston's oldest and most esteemed inhabitants, who was a happy spectator of the ceremonial.

*Mrs. H. Fraser, already mentioned in connection with the opening of the Rideau Canal.

The Story of Old Kingston.

A strenuous session followed, lasting but three months, during which one hundred and two bills were passed—all measures required for the public weal, for which the Governor worked with unremitting diligence, too exhausting for his already overtaxed strength. He wrote to his brother in August:—"I actually breathe, eat, drink and sleep on nothing but government and politics; and every day is a lost one when I do not find that I have advanced some of these objects materially." And feeling that his allotted task was pretty well accomplished, he had already sent home his resignation. He also did much by his influence to remove the irritation and acrimony which had been produced by the long-continued political strife, although he did not concede to the Reformers the full measure of Responsible Government for which they had contended—a work which it was left for Lord Elgin to complete. But among the measures passed were some of the greatest consequence to the progress of Canada, as, for instance, the bill for the establishment and support of elementary schools, and that which, for the time at least, settled the vexed question of the Clergy Reserves—an object which Lord Sydenham had much at heart.

The prorogation of Parliament had been fixed for the 15th of September. As the session advanced it was evident that the Governor's vitality was seriously undermined, and an accident hurried his life and administration to a tragic close. On the 4th of September he was riding up the slight eminence that leads to Alwington, when his horse stumbled and fell under him, causing a severe wound above the knee. This injury proved too much for his already weakened constitution, and in spite of all that medical skill could

do, he lived only fifteen days after it. His resignation, in consequence of his failing health, had already been accepted, and the well-merited honour of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath had been bestowed on him by the Queen, though received only on his death-bed. Until three or four days before his death he still cherished the hope of being able to return to England, and bore up until his prorogation speech had been dictated and corrected. The session was closed by the senior military officer at Kingston, General Clitheroe, acting as his deputy, and two days later, on the 19th of September, the first and last Lord Sydenham passed peacefully away.

He had desired to be interred beneath St. George's Church, whither his remains were followed by a large concourse of real mourners from all parts of United Canada, for his death was generally felt as a great loss to the country. The *Kingston Herald* voiced the general sentiment when it said: "All is finished. Parliament is prorogued, and the Governor-General is no more! '*Sic transit gloria mundi!*' Let us now be calm, and reflect on these occurrences as men and Christians. The first Parliament of United Canada has ended well, well beyond expectations, and much good has been achieved. The main positions of the new Government have been sustained, and some of the essential measures of reform effected. Conflicting opinions have not been carried out to any injurious extent in any way, and the members have all parted in good humour."

Side by side with this local comment may be placed another contemporary tribute of esteem for the Governor who had literally worn out his life in the service of Canada, extracted from a published letter writ-

The Story of Old Kingston.

ten by the late Egerton Ryerson, D.D., a Methodist clergyman and educationist, then stationed at Kingston :

“To lay the foundations of public liberty, and at the same time to strengthen the prerogative; to promote a comprehensive system of education upon Christian principles, without interfering with religious scruples; to promote the influence and security of the Government by teaching the people to govern themselves; to destroy party faction by promoting the general good; to invest a bankrupt country with both credit and resources, are conceptions and achievements which render Lord Sydenham the first benefactor of Canada, and place him in the first rank of statesmen. His Lordship found a country divided, he left it united—he found it mantled with despair, he left it blooming with hope. Lord Sydenham has done more in two years to strengthen and consolidate British power in Canada by his matchless industry and truly liberal conservative policy, than has been done during the ten previous years by the increase of a standing army and the erection of military fortifications. His Lordship has solved the difficult problem that a people may be colonists and yet be free; and in the solution of that problem he has gained a triumph less imposing, but not less important, than the victory of Waterloo; he has saved millions to England, and secured the affections of Canada.”

As his last resting-place was under St. George's Church, which has thus been associated with two important events in the history of the Province, his name and distinguished services were fitly commemorated by a tablet placed by his family on the walls of the church, and remaining there till after that had been



SIR CHARLES, LATER LORD METCALFE.
Governor-General of Canada.



SIR CHARLES BAGOT.
Governor-General of Canada.

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

greatly enlarged and had become the Cathedral of the Diocese of Ontario. But, along with some other historical tablets, it shared in the destruction of the church by fire on New Year's morning, 1899. After the cathedral had been rebuilt, a movement towards replacing Lord Sydenham's monument was initiated by the local branch of the *'Women's National Council,' which, endorsed by that body as a whole, and by the principal Historical Societies of Ontario, petitioned the Ontario Government to supply the means for accomplishing this object, which the Government gracefully and generously did. The new tablet, a faithful and artistic *replica* of the first one, now adorns the interior of the restored edifice, where, it may be hoped, it will long remain intact to perpetuate the memory of a brief two years' administration so full of strenuous service to the Canadian people.

The next vice-regal occupant of Alwington House was Sir Charles Bagot, a scion of an ancient Conservative family, and a nephew by marriage of the Duke of Wellington. Like his predecessor, he had a very brief tenure of office, and but one session of Parliament, of just five weeks' duration. This was not, however, called together until he had been nine months in the country, as he desired to give himself time to learn to know the people of the two very diverse Provinces over which he was called to rule, before developing his future policy. His task was by no means an easy one. Besides strongly marked party lines within Canada itself, there were bitter animosities caused by the skirmishing warfare which had so long harassed the frontier, and by still existing causes of disagreement

*A large and influential organisation of representative Canadian women, founded by the Countess of Aberdeen during Lord Aberdeen's term as Governor-General.

The Story of Old Kingston.

between the United States and Great Britain, more particularly connected with the African slave trade carried on under the American flag; and with the long vexed boundary question. The latter was indeed settled by the famous Ashburton Treaty, during the *régime* of Sir Charles, though not by any means to the general satisfaction.*

Feeling that his special work seemed to be that of cementing the lately accomplished union of the Provinces,—reconciling differences and governing constitutionally, according to the principle which had been recognized by his predecessor, Sir Charles Bagot showed himself impartial and courteous to all. In his public appointments he endeavoured to be strictly fair to both French and British Canada, as well as to the Reform party in power, and to the still determined opposition, whom he offended by admitting to his Cabinet one or two who had been "*suspect*" in the political agitation which had convulsed the country, acting throughout on the broad principle of the measure of Responsible Government which had been conceded to Canada, that a constitutional majority must necessarily hold the reins of power.

The brief session of Parliament which was cut short by changes in the Cabinet and the consequent necessity for the newly elected ministers to seek re-election, was not remarkable either for the number or the importance of the measures passed. It was, however, unhappily memorable to the citizens of Kingston, for the long debate over the question of the final location

*The growth of free trade principles in Britain also seemed, for the time at least, a very considerable setback to Canadian commercial prosperity, for among other losses, Canada ceased to enjoy the lucrative monopoly of supplying the West Indies with lumber and provisions.

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

of the seat of Government, and the decision, by a vote of 40 to 22, that it should *not* be fixed at Kingston—a decision, of course, most unwelcome to the hopeful and enterprising citizens. Real estate now fell as rapidly as it had risen, its depreciation meaning ruin to some speculators; and social disappointment, as well as financial depression, prevailed in the city.

Parliament had been adjourned in October for little more than a month, but the sudden prostration of Sir Charles Bagot, early in November, by serious illness, compelled an indefinite re-adjournment; and once again, after the lapse of little more than a year, Kingstonians experienced the gloom attendant on the gradual sinking of the Governor-General under a fatal malady. He was advised to return at once to England, in order to avoid the trying winter; but though he promptly applied for his recall, his successor could not assume the administration until the end of March. In May, Alwington House was again the scene of the mournful pomp of a vice-regal funeral, the earthly remains being, however, this time conveyed to England *via* the United States, to repose beside the ashes of his ancestors.

The fact that within the short space of two years and a half two Viceroys had died at Government House, Kingston, might well have deterred a weak or superstitious man from accepting what seemed so ill-fated a post. Sir Charles Metcalfe—afterwards Lord Metcalfe—who was appointed successor to Sir Charles Bagot, and who—after official experience in India—had just returned from acting as Governor in Jamaica, was at first by no means inclined to accept the office, but did so at the urgent request of the Colonial Sec-

The Story of Old Kingston.

retary, Lord Stanley, afterwards the Earl of Derby. He, however, carried with him the germ of a fatal disease, though at the time it had apparently been removed by a successful operation, which left him for a season in average health. An able, generous and high-minded man, he was strongly conservative in his views, and his Jamaica experiences did not tend to place him in sympathy with the principle of Responsible Government which had been granted to Canada. In compliance with his instructions from Lord Stanley, (who seems not to have approved of Sir Charles Bagot's more constitutional course), he desired to replace the Conservative party in the ascendant, and—regarding himself as the head of the Executive, responsible to the Home Government alone—to use the power of appointment in what he regarded as the interest of the Crown.

The consequence of the opposition of views between the Governor and his ministry, as well as in the House of Assembly itself, was a series of difficulties and complications, which soon brewed storms in the political atmosphere. The third—and last—session of Parliament held in Kingston, was full of excited and acrimonious debate, the city being filled with deeply interested spectators of what had virtually become a conflict between the Governor and his Ministers, who, with one exception, resigned office, and Parliament was prorogued in December, with only a provisional Cabinet consisting of three Executive Councillors. An overwhelming vote, in favour of a ministerial resolution to remove the seat of Government at once to Montreal, ended the tenure by Kingston of the distinction it had enjoyed for but three short years, and at least relieved the loyal old town from being the scene of the con-

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

tinued struggle, accompanied by rioting and even bloodshed, which harassed the remainder of Lord Metcalfe's administration. In all probability it also hastened the fatal progress of his disease (facial cancer), which brought to an end his term of office in Canada, and, a few months later, his life. It was a strange coincidence that each of the first three Viceroy of United Canada, chiefly resident in Kingston, should hold office only for the brief space of about two years, and then sink under a fatal malady, undoubtedly aggravated by the cares and labours incidental to the position and the time.

It was only on the accession to office of Lord Elgin, after a brief term by Lord Cathcart, that the full exercise of responsible government, for which the Reformers of Canada had fought so long, was placed on a secure basis. Lord Elgin, also, came to Canada from the government of Jamaica, but his political views had been formed in a different school from those of Lord Metcalfe, and, despite the petty but annoying persecution to which he was subjected during the factious riots at Montreal, he persevered in establishing permanently the free institutions inaugurated by his father-in-law, Lord Durham, which, as we all know, Canada has ever since enjoyed, and which have had no small influence in making her the most loyal section of our world-wide empire.

Kingston's brief dream of metropolitan pre-eminence had now vanished—or nearly so—for its citizens still continued to hope against hope for the ultimate return of the seat of Government,* until, in 1858, the

*From the "Chronicle and Gazette" of April 27th, 1844, we find that Mr. J. S. Cartwright, M.L.A. of Canada, presented to Her Majesty a petition signed by 16,000 inhabitants of Upper Canada, praying that the seat of Government of Canada be retained within that section of the Provinces.

royal choice fixed it permanently at Ottawa. Its removal from Kingston was, it has been said, due in part to the supposed inability of the surrounding country to provide adequately for the needs of a growing Capital; but was doubtless even more to be referred to its exposed position on the American frontier, while Ottawa was almost on the dividing line between Upper and Lower Canada.

Whatever the causes, the event was a heavy blow to the commercial prosperity of the town, and made a great change in its future character and destinies. The sudden depression in business was as rapid as had been its inflation, and enterprising speculators found themselves left ruinously in the lurch when rents sank at once even below their old values. The handsome and costly City Hall and Market buildings, which had been begun under the impulse of the town's elevation, burdened it with a heavy debt, though greatly enhancing its appearance, as seen from the water. However, the improvements made in the condition of the streets, drainage, etc., as well as a number of handsome and substantial residences built by private citizens, remained as permanent benefits to the place. The brothers Cartwright had previously built two of the fine old-fashioned mansions which still adorn King Street, and another had been built by the Hon. John Macaulay, which is still occupied by his descendants. Mr. J. S. Cartwright, however, afterwards built, on his property at Rockwood, the handsome residence now occupied by the Superintendent of the Hospital for the Insane; and after the death of the Rev. Robert Cartwright, his widow and family took up their residence at Rockwood Cottage, where our veteran statesman. Sir Richard, spent his boyhood.



RT. HON. SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.
Dom. Minister of Trade and Commerce.



RT. HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.
First Premier of the Dominion.

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

Their house on King Street eventually became the property of the late Sheriff Ferguson, who was Sheriff of the County of Frontenac for nearly half a century, and some of whose family still inhabit the old mansion.

In the centre of the city—on the gore formed by the divergence of Brock and Clarence Streets—still stands a fine, massive cut-stone house, now much dilapidated and almost unused, which was once the abode of Mr. John Forsyth, mentioned as an early merchant. The grounds, shaded by spreading horse-chestnut trees, and surrounded by a handsome iron railing, fronted on Wellington Street, and it seems a pity that a business block should have been allowed to fill up what might have been made a pretty square and a distinct adornment to the city. These old-fashioned “colonial” mansions, with the residence built by Mr. Henry Gildersleeve, and still occupied by one of his daughters, highly esteemed for her generous public spirit, are noteworthy relics of the substantial homes of Old Kingston’s “limestone” days.

Another handsome stone mansion, a little out of town, was built about this time by Mr. D. J. Smith, a Kingston lawyer, who was the first Treasurer of the Midland District Agricultural Society, formed in 1830, immediately on the formation of such Societies being initiated by Act of Parliament—the Hon. John Macaulay being President. Mr. Smith’s residence has long borne the name of Rose Lawn, and, after the death of its first owner, became the abode of his namesake, the late Sir Henry Smith, who was for many years member for the County, and who, as Speaker of the House, was sent to England in 1859 to invite the Prince of Wales to visit Canada, being knighted on

The Story of Old Kingston.

that occasion by Queen Victoria. His eldest son has long been a well-known figure in the House of Commons, as its genial and courteous Sergeant-at-Arms.

An ancient landmark on King Street, still surviving, is the clap-boarded cottage, once the home of the Venerable Archdeacon Stuart, son of the original rector, whose various names have been bestowed piecemeal on several streets near his later residence and grounds, once called Summer Hill, and now the *campus* of Queen's University. In that vicinity, beyond the General Hospital on the lake front, is another old cottage, built by the Rev. William Herchmer, already mentioned, and for some time used as a See-house, after the creation of the Diocese of Ontario. Near this house is the spot where, under an old tree, still partially existing, the poet Moore is said to have written one of his melodious poems, beginning:—

"I knew, by the smoke that so gracefully curled," etc.

The cottage near Murney Tower, in which on his brief visit he sojourned for a day or two, is no longer standing, but a new one occupies the site, and belongs to a well-known citizen, Mr. Henry Cunningham.

On King Street, near the old home of Archdeacon Stuart, stands another large, old-fashioned "rough-cast" cottage, in which for many years resided the then leading physician of the town, Dr. Sampson, remarkable for professional sagacity, curt expression, and for not a few *bon mots*, still among the traditions of Kingston. On one occasion he remarked to a mounted acquaintance whom he was accompanying on foot, that he was proceeding "*haud passibus equis.*" On another, while walking with a friend past Rockwood, and observing Mr. J. S. Cartwright's handsome



SIR OLIVER MOWAT.

Long Premier and later Governor of Ontario.



VERY REV. GEORGE MUNRO GRANT, D.D.

Principal of Queen's University.

new house and stables, he perpetrated the following impromptu:—

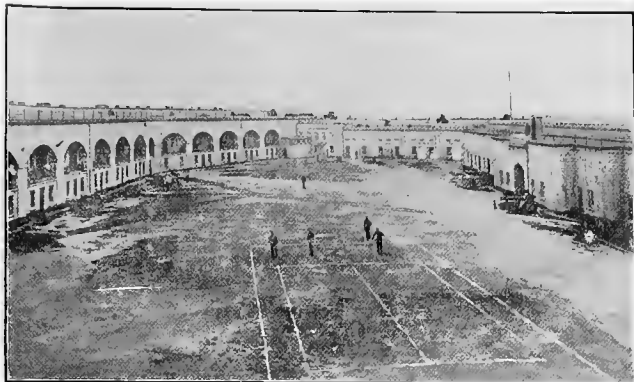
“Oh, much I wish that I were able
To build a house like Cartwright’s stable,
For it doth cause me great remorse
To be worse lodged than Cartwright’s horse!”

This worthy old doctor, keen-witted, terse and laconic, as so many worthy old doctors are, was, as has been said, thrice Mayor of Kingston, and died at a good old age, much regretted by his patients and fellow citizens. Drs. Baker, Stewart and Dickson were other leading lights of the medical profession about the same time.

But the *personnel* of the legal profession at this period deserves special mention, as it included three names distinguished in Canadian political history, one of which was destined to be, during the next half-century, the foremost name of Canada, known as such throughout the British Empire. In the year before the outbreak of '37, young John A. Macdonald, who though not a native of Kingston, had been educated at its Grammar School, and had studied in the office of George Mackenzie, was, at twenty-one, called to the bar. It happened curiously enough to one conspicuous throughout his life for his devotion to the Empire, that his first step to distinction was made by his able but unsuccessful defence of the unfortunate insurgent leader, Von Schultz. As Kingston became, five years later, the centre of the political excitement of the time, it is not surprising that he naturally gravitated towards politics, and in 1844 was returned as member for Kingston, a position which he retained through nearly his whole career. His first election address contained the following pledge, striking the key-note

of his political life: "The prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the Mother Country, and I will resist to the utmost any attempt (from whatever quarter it may come) which may tend to weaken that union"—words which find an echo in his last rallying cry in 1891: "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I will die!" In both he but gave expression to the strong traditional spirit of loyalty to the British Empire which had laid the foundation-stone of his native Province and charged the political atmosphere of his constituency. His long career as a Canadian statesman, as one of the "Fathers of Confederation," as the first Premier of the Dominion, and one of the foremost builders of Greater Canada, belongs to Canadian history, and is too well known to need recapitulation here.

Shortly after the young lawyer had opened his humble office, two other young Kingstonians presented themselves in it as law students, both also destined to fill distinguished careers. One of these was the future Sir Oliver Mowat, who began his law practice in Toronto, became Vice-Chancellor of Ontario, was later an unsuccessful opponent of Sir John Macdonald at the Kingston polls in 1861, afterwards Premier of Ontario for the unparalleled period of twenty-five years, then Minister of Justice for the Dominion, and finally Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, dying in that office in his tranquil old age;—a man no less remarkable for his blameless Christian character than for his long political pre-eminence. The other law student was later known as Sir Alexander Campbell, the son of the devoted Dr. Campbell, who died worn out with his professional work during the cholera visitation of 1832. He also was long a prominent figure in poli-



INTERIOR OF FORT HENRY.



OLD MARKET BATTERY AND SHOAL TOWER.

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

tical life, and, like the "good Sir Oliver," died as one of his predecessors in the Governorship of Ontario. All three were of Scottish parentage—of families early connected with St. Andrew's Church.

By a curious conjunction of circumstances, another young Scotchman, who became Sir John Macdonald's most distinguished and strenuous political opponent, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, was also closely associated with Kingston during its tenure of the seat of Government. Having just arrived in the country from Scotland, he sought work as a stonemason in Kingston, but meeting with the unfortunate experience of being swindled out of his summer's pay, he tried farming on land at some distance from the city, belonging to Mr. John Mowat, the worthy father of Sir Oliver. Returning to Kingston in 1843, he obtained work on Fort Henry, then being completed, and has left, as a memento of his good workmanship, the bomb-proof arch still pointed out as such to the visiting tourist. During the season of depression in Kingston resulting from the removal of the Government, he found work in connection with the system of canals then in process of construction, and spent a winter at Wolfe Island, opposite Kingston, getting out stone for the Welland Canal, during which he narrowly escaped drowning in crossing the ice to visit his *fiancée*, to whom he was married in Kingston in 1845. During the following year he took part in building the Martello towers which surround the city; and that on Cedar Island, in particular, was built by the vigorous hands which afterwards guided for a time the political destiny of the Dominion in such a manner as to merit the testimony of Lord Dufferin that "neither in England nor in Canada has any public servant of

The Story of Old Kingston.

the Crown administered the affairs of the nation with stricter integrity, a purer patriotism, a more indefatigable industry, or nobler aspiration." On the whole, Kingston is justified of her sometime citizens.

As has been already said, the main portion of the present Fort Henry had been built between 1832 and 1833, of stone quarried from the roadside between Kingston and Gananoque, and it was now completed by the addition of the advanced batteries. The *cordon* of Martello towers was now added to the system of defence, that at Murney Point superseding the old blockhouse or loop-holed guardhouse. The shoal-tower, in front of the town, was built up from the solid rock beneath the water, by means of cribwork and a dam constructed on the ice during the winter and then sunk, from which the water had to be pumped by an anchored steamer. It was completed in 1847, at a cost of £8,725 sterling. The tower on Point Frederick also replaced an old blockhouse burnt in 1820, which had been surrounded by a breastwork of logs and earth. Cedar Island, just below the fort, the site of another tower, and Snake Island, lying some miles out on the lake, were made telegraph stations. The fine Market Battery, in front of the city buildings, was built in 1848 at a cost of £11,173 sterling. It added greatly to the appearance of the city front, but was unfortunately demolished to make room for the present K. and P. Railway station; another instance of the vast sums of money sunk by the British Government in the defences and harbour of Old Kingston!

The institution of Queen's University about this time must be left for another chapter; but passing for a moment to matters ecclesiastical, it may be remarked that Kingston became, in 1844, the scene of an

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

event profoundly affecting the religious interests of the country—the unhappy, and, as it seems, very unnecessary “Disruption” in the Presbyterian Church, dividing that large and growing body into two sections—that which remained attached to the Mother Church of Scotland, and that which chose to be identified with the Free Church of Scotland, which had recently seceded. Leaders of the latter came to Canada to promote an agitation in connection with which feeling ran high in Kingston as in other places, and the formal separation between brethren of one faith and one creed actually took place within St. Andrew’s Church during a meeting of Synod, deeply regretted by many who felt that the dissensions of the old land should not have found an echo in a new country, totally unaffected by their causes. The passing years brought wiser counsels, and although Kingston was not the scene of the ultimate reunion of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, it has repeatedly been the meeting-place of its reunited Assembly.

In 1846, the year after the removal of the seat of Government, Kingston was incorporated as a city, John Counter, Esq., being the first Mayor under the new style. About the same time the city received the questionable privilege of becoming the site of the Provincial Penitentiary, and the present massive pile of buildings was begun. The pretty little village of Portsmouth, bright with flower gardens, began to grow up around the walls, and, from its convenient position, helped to maintain Kingston’s shipbuilding reputation, possessing for many years shipyards of considerable importance.

Other handsome public buildings besides the fine City Hall soon greatly enhanced the appearance of the

The Story of Old Kingston.

place. The Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Mary's, Kingston's predominating edifice when viewed from a distance (not counting the new elevators at the wharves), was also begun at this period of ambitious building, and, having been partially renewed in recent years, is a fine specimen of Gothic architecture, as well as the largest ecclesiastical edifice in the city. The handsome buildings of the old Commercial Bank and the Bank of Montreal, now diverted to other uses, were also notable additions to its civic architecture, and several destructive fires helped to remove blemishes and improve the aspect of the town.

Foundries and other industrial works also began to spring up within its bounds, and as Kingston was the terminus of the Rideau Canal, bringing freight from the eastward, and also of the navigation from the head of the lake, a flourishing business was carried on in the transshipment and forwarding of grain and other produce. The Welland Canal now connected Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, and in 1847 the canals of the St. Lawrence, at that time at least the most stupendous works of the kind in the world, were ready for use, overcoming the formidable obstructions the rapids had presented to St. Lawrence navigation; freight having hitherto been sent down on the bateaux frequently referred to, which were usually broken up for timber at Montreal, as they were not worth the expense of bringing them back. Now, however, steam-

*The bateaux and Durham boats above mentioned were both flat-bottomed craft, the former measuring from 18 to 20 feet in length and 6 feet in width, with sharp and curving ends, drawing two feet of water, and capable of carrying three tons' weight. The Durham boats were larger and heavier, decked in, with keel, centreboard and round bow. They were largely used on the river, previous to the opening of the Beauharnois Canal, when there were only small canals at the Cascades, Cedars and Split Rock.

Kingston as the Capital of Canada.

boats and other craft could run up and down to Montreal without hindrance, and the forwarding trade of Kingston profited thereby. In the summer of 1844 we find, from advertisements in the *Chronicle and Gazette*, that Kingston already possessed ample steamboat communication with Montreal, as Messrs. Macpherson and Crane advertise "for Montreal direct" the "new steamer *Caledonia*," while a line of three other steamers, the *Highlander*, *Gildersleeve*, and *Canada*, are advertised to "leave the Commercial wharf at Kingston for Coteau-du-Lac," from whence the passengers were conveyed in stages to the shore of Lake St. Louis, and thence per steamer *Chieftain* to Montreal. The *Caledonia* may have also had some such arrangement, as well as the steamer *Pilot*, also advertised "for Montreal direct," and the *Pioneer*, *Gleaner*, and *William Henry*, also freight and passage boats for Montreal. Two steamboats, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Prince Edward*, are also advertised for the Bay of Quinté route, another source of forwarding profit. In a few years, however, the building of the Grand Trunk Railway put a serious check on the growing prosperity of the place, diverting much of the traffic into its own channel, especially as its main line ran at a distance of two miles from the business quarter of the city. In convenience of transit, however, and other obvious ways, it has greatly benefited the citizens generally, especially since the "suburban branch line" was carried, about 1860, into the city station.

CHAPTER XIV.

AN EDUCATIONAL CENTRE.

If Kingston had to reconcile herself to the disappointment of losing the coveted distinction of the seat of Government, she has earned the greater one of having been, throughout her whole history, an educational centre. As has been already noticed, in the very year after the arrival of the first Loyalist settlers, the Rev. John Stuart opened a private school for the children, which, during the earliest days of the settlement, provided the means of elementary education. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the Hon. Richard Cartwright, desirous of securing for his sons a more advanced and liberal education, sent to Scotland for a competent tutor through a Scottish clergyman, the brother of his friend, the Hon. Robert Hamilton, of Queenston. It has been said that the afterwards celebrated Dr. Chalmers received the first offer; but the choice finally fell upon a young man of twenty-one, John Strachan by name, who was at the time teacher of a small Parish-school in Fifeshire, while at the same time prosecuting his studies for the ministry of the Church of Scotland. He accepted the position, and arrived in Kingston on the last day of the outgoing century. Colonel John Clark, whose reminiscences have already been quoted, gives the following interesting particulars concerning this first grammar school of Upper Canada:—

“He (i.e., Mr. Strachan) came from Scotland in the year 1800, by authority of the Hon. Richard Cartwright, of Kingston, and the Hon. Robert Hamilton,

of Queenston, as teacher for their sons. In addition, Mr. Strachan was allowed to take ten other boys, at £10 a year each, and I had the good fortune to be among the number." "Among these were (the late) Chief Justice Robinson, Chief Justice Macaulay, the Hon. George Markland, Archdeacon Bethune, Rev. W. Macaulay, Captain England, R.E., James and Samuel Hamilton, Mr. Justice McLean, and the writer, John Clark."

Mr. Strachan soon proved his native force of character, shrewdness and ability as a teacher, earning the grateful remembrance of his early pupils. But his school did not long remain in Kingston after the three years of his engagement had expired. During his residence there, probably under the influence of Dr. Stuart, he decided to connect himself with the Episcopal Church, and was appointed to the Anglican Mission at Cornwall, whither the future Bishop removed, taking with him almost all his pupils, and becoming, when grammar schools were at length founded, teacher of that which was placed at Cornwall, whose success he soon assured.

Kingston, having thus lost its much appreciated teacher, remained temporarily destitute of adequate school facilities; but this condition did not last long. The early settlers of Ontario were men who valued education, and as early as 1797 a joint address from the two Houses of Parliament had been presented to George III., asking him, through his Government, "to appropriate a certain portion of the waste lands of the Crown for the establishment and support of a respectable grammar school in each district, and also for the support of a College or University." In reply to enquiries as to the amount of appropriation

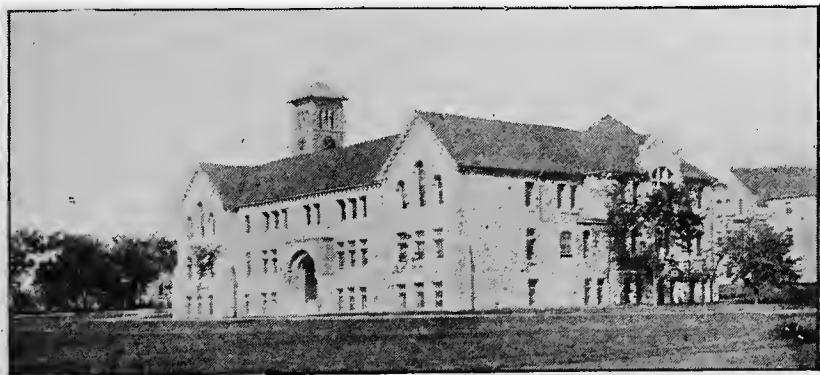
necessary, the Executive Council recommended an appropriation of 500,000 acres, or ten townships, as a sufficient provision for the maintenance of four grammar schools and one university, and further suggested that the former be placed at Cornwall, Kingston, Newark, and Sandwich, and the latter at York. The last suggestion was not, however, carried out until some twenty-eight years after the grant of 549,000 acres had been made for the above purposes.

A share of this grant, amounting to 190,573 acres, was placed at the disposal of a Board of Education, for the establishment of common and grammar schools, and the foundations of liberal education in the Province seemed well assured. The exact date of the establishment of the Kingston Grammar School does not seem clear. It was probably later than 1811, since in that year an academy of the same kind was opened at the village of Bath, in the township of Ernestown, and taught for some years by Mr. Barnabas Bidwell, afterwards prominent in politics. Of the opening of the Kingston Grammar School we have no record, even through the *Kingston Gazette*; but it seems to have been incorporated about 1815, and in the twenties we find it known as the "Public School of the Midland District."

In 1824 the Rev. J. Wilson, who had been five years Principal of the school, resigned his position. The Board of Trustees, at that time consisting of Rev. Archdeacon Stuart, T. Markland, F. Smith, Dr. J. Sampson, C. Hagerman, and John Macaulay, seems to have reported directly to the Governor, Sir John Colborne, by whom Mr. George Baxter, previously assistant teacher, was appointed to the headmastership. About this period the attendance numbered some



OLD AND NEW ARTS BUILDINGS, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.



NEW ARTS BUILDING, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.

thirty-one pupils, and the fees amounted to £1 per quarter for instruction in English, with a rising scale for Classics, and a small fee for "repairs." The course of instruction included, besides the elementary English studies, Horace, the Greek Testament, Virgil, Cornelius Nepos, *Télémaque*, Euclid and Algebra. A little later it is recorded that a new school edifice was contemplated, and that satisfactory progress had been made in Homer and Cicero. In the list of pupils we find the well-known Kingston names of Strange, McLeod, Hardy, Rees, Stoughton, Molson, Goodearle, and Baillie. Among those of trustees we find the added names of the Rev. R. Cartwright, with W. S. Gray, representing Ernestown, and R. Smith, Belleville, Rev. John Machar, Alexander Pringle; and, three years later, those of Messrs. Talbot, Garrett and Sellers, added to the Board.

In 1831 the Rev. R. V. Rogers, afterwards for many years the revered rector of St. James' Church, was appointed headmaster, which office he exercised for about nine years, resigning it on taking the charge of St. James'; and during the next year or two there seems to have been a vacancy. In the forties we find the roll of Trustees including the Rev. Father Dollard, and Messrs. Waudby, John Macdonald, B. Smith, B. Seymour, D. Roblin, Donald Macpherson, and Dr. John Stewart. About this time some representation was made regarding the unequal distribution of public money between the four grammar schools, Kingston, it seems, then receiving £270 as its share.

A headmaster named Lightburne was appointed after the resignation of Mr. Rogers, but his *régime* does not seem to have been satisfactory, for we find a record of his dismissal in 1849. Meantime Queen's

The Story of Old Kingston.

University had been established by Royal Charter, and several of its Trustees, not satisfied with the teaching of the grammar school, instituted a new grammar school for the preparation of students to attend the University classes, which was called the "Queen's Preparatory School," giving a good grounding in Classics and Mathematics. After the dismissal of Mr. Lightburne in 1849, and the appointment of his successor, Mr. Irwin, the school management began to assume a more satisfactory condition, and as the building in use seems to have fallen into great disrepair, Archdeacon Stuart offered a wing of his newly completed residence for its temporary housing. At this time the fees appear to have ranged from £4 to £8 per quarter. The sessions each day were opened and closed with prayer, and the Bible was the unquestioned religious text-book. Other class-books seem to have been similar to those then used in Toronto. About this time, too, the long-talked-of new schoolhouse was built, where it still stands, transformed into a Business College.

In 1861 a movement was made to amalgamate the Queen's Preparatory School with the County Grammar School, as it was then styled, and a committee consisting of Principal Leitch of Queen's University, with the Revs. Dr. Machar and Professor Williamson, and Messrs. John Paton and Thomas Kirkpatrick was appointed to draft a resolution to this end, which was carried into effect in 1862. Mr. John May, previously Master of the Preparatory School, became the first Principal under the new *régime*, but was succeeded before the close of the year by Mr. Samuel Woods, who successfully discharged the duties of the office for more than ten years. He was succeeded, in 1878, by Mr.—now Professor—Knight, M.D., of Queen's Uni-

An Educational Centre.

versity, during whose term of office the school building was badly damaged by fire, but was rebuilt about 1876. Among the names of trustees of that period we find those of Senator Sullivan and the late Sir George A. Kirkpatrick. Dr. Knight's successor for one year was the present Professor Burgess of Hellmuth College, London.

The present able headmaster, Mr. Ellis, assumed office in 1893, with a staff of nine teachers. The school had long ceased to be the County Grammar School, having become the "Kingston Collegiate Institute," and had quite outgrown its narrow quarters. A new building, adapted to modern requirements, had become indispensable, and in 1892 the present spacious and commodious building was erected on an airy site on Earl Street, surrounded by an ample playground. Here some four hundred pupils are yearly taught according to approved modern methods, a staff of thirteen masters being fully employed in the work. The curriculum has been expanded to include not only subjects designed to prepare pupils for the professions, but also such as may fit them for the general occupations of life. Parallel courses are now carried on in commercial work, preparation for technical employments, matriculation, and the studies necessary for teachers' certificates. The school, managed in earlier years by trustees appointed by the County Council, has no longer any official connection with that body, but is under the control of the city's Board of Education. Fees vary from \$10.00 to \$25.00 per annum, according to the nature of the course and the advancement of the pupils. Of these nearly five-sixths belong to the city, the remainder chiefly coming from the surrounding townships. The expenditure of

The Story of Old Kingston.

the school amounts to about \$14,000 a year, derived from the fees, augmented by a grant from the city and one from the Provincial Government.

But while the Grammar School at an early period provided advanced teaching for the children of those who could afford the fees, there was, for the first quarter of the century, little of even the most elementary education open to the children of the poor. Rochefoucault, on his visit to Kingston in 1795, says: "In this district there are some schools, but they are few in number. The children are instructed in reading and writing, and pay each a dollar a month. One of the masters taught Latin, but he has left without being succeeded by an instructor in the same language." These must, of course, have been private schools. Mr. Gourlay, writing in 1817, says: "No provision is made by law for free schools. The inhabitants of the several townships are left to a voluntary support of schools, according to their own discretion." About 1818 a class of "common or parish schools" seems to have been founded by the Legislature, but these were few, and for a time comparatively useless, owing to the indifferent character of the teachers, who were often very carelessly appointed, being sometimes described as "incompetent persons and common idlers!"

But about the year 1815 a number of the public-spirited citizens of Kingston, already individually mentioned, feeling strongly the need of education for the poor, subscribed among themselves a fund to maintain a school, to be conducted on what was called the "Lancastrian" or "Monitorial System," and then incorporated themselves into a Society "for the education and moral improvement of the poor." Among the names of the trustees at that time appear those

of Cartwright, Herchmer, Geddes, Markland, Smith, Bartlett and Pringle, with the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart as President. Some aid was obtained from Government, and also from an English Society for promoting the education of the poor in Canada; and a school was opened in September, 1818, a teacher being brought from England for the purpose. The experiment seems to have been on too expensive a scale, but came to an end after a few months, on account of the teacher's incompetence, and the plan was dropped for the time, the "Lancastrian" system never having really been put in practice. Owing to the death of some of the trustees, and to other causes, the Society remained for some years dormant, and the schoolhouse, which had been built on land acquired by the Society, was rented to other schools, and finally let as a dwelling-house.

In 1829 we find three of the founders of the Society, being also trustees of the Grammar School, expressing regret "that no poor children are educated gratis," in accordance with a provision of the Statute, admitting ten common school pupils, free of charge, into the Grammar School; and suggesting that, in order to encourage native genius in humble circumstances, some means might be devised of maintaining all the ten children whom the Statute authorises the trustees to select for gratuitous instruction.

In the meantime an Association of benevolent ladies, known as the "Female Benevolent Society," had opened a school for poor children, which by its success proved the existing need for reviving the work of the Midland District Society. Two of these ladies—Mrs. Cartwright and Mrs. Machar—long and deeply interested in the education of the poor, brought this

The Story of Old Kingston.

need to the notice of the trustees, who, having got the Act of Incorporation amended, re-commenced operations with a re-constituted Board, including the Revs. R. D. Cartwright and John Machar, Hon. John Kirby and Thomas Markland, and Messrs. Benjamin Alcott, George Smith, William Stoughton, Alexander Pringle and Stephen Myles. This Board adopted the school already begun by the ladies' Association, and engaged a Scotchman named Hamilton, newly arrived in the country, as teacher of the boys' school, being not now bound to any particular system of instruction. He received the very moderate salary of £80 a year, and the teacher of the girls' school was "passing rich" on half that sum; these amounts being, however, supplemented by the low fees which it was thought expedient to charge, remitting them when, as often happened, the parents were too poor to pay them. These fees ranged from one shilling per month for reading and plain sewing, up to two shillings for bookkeeping, geography and elementary mathematics, with a certain reduction of even these rates when more than two of a family were in attendance.

Although these schools were by no means "charity schools," and were attended, in not a few cases, by children of respectable families of limited means, who afterwards took their places among the leading citizens of Kingston, no pains were spared by the trustees and the ladies who actively assisted them to make them chiefly available for those who most needed them. The town was divided into districts, which were personally canvassed by the trustees, in order to ascertain by actual investigation all cases in which children were kept at home by poverty. School books were, in such cases, supplied by the trustees, and clothing by the

auxiliary ladies' Association. During the winter of 1842 these reported that "sixty-seven families, comprising 234 children, were provided with clothing to attend the scriptural schools of the M. D. S., as well as their places of worship."

There were in those days no difficulties concerning religious instruction, in these schools at least, the Bible being always used as a text-book, and the teachers being enjoined to see that their pupils duly prepared the lessons for their respective Sunday schools. The two original schools were conducted in the substantial low building of squared logs, called, from its previous destination, "the Line Barracks," still standing in a remodelled form opposite to Sydenham Street Church. The ceilings were low and the windows small, and the narrow benches—*minus* backs—fell far below our modern requirements. But the log walls were whitewashed and brightened with pictures of animals, Scripture mottoes, and maps; and the pupils were usually well, docile and happy. The attendance grew so large that, in the Annual Report of May, 1842, it appeared "that the schools of the Society had afforded to 200 children, during the year, those advantages which the institution was originally designed to confer upon that portion of the community which has hitherto been without the means of education."

Miss Morrison, the first teacher of the girls' school, had been obliged, through ill-health, to resign her work into the hands of her assistant, Miss Masson, a woman remarkably gifted for teaching and training, who, for many years continued to mould the characters of successive pupils—boys, as well as girls. Her strong, gentle influence proved most beneficial, and turned out many good citizens, some of the boys

The Story of Old Kingston.

becoming professional men, and not a few of them teachers, while the girls became equally useful in the home sphere, as good wives and mothers, or efficient domestics. To the moral training of her pupils she was especially attentive, teaching them to be truthful, honest and upright, courteous and respectful, kind to dumb animals, and—anticipating the era of “Nature study”—to be intelligently interested in the shrubs and flowers, which made her little school-yard a delight to the eye. None of her “children” would have been guilty of the petty cruelties, the vandalism and flower stealing too common in later years.

When the free “common schools,” as they were then called, began to grow in numbers and efficiency, these excellent schools had no longer the same *raison d’être*, and in time one after another was closed. “Miss Masson’s school” survived, however, conducted by pupils of her own, even after she left Kingston, and, being maintained for a considerable time in connection with the Orphans’ Home, it afforded needed assistance to many poor families, besides being the only sewing school for children of the class attending it. Altogether, the “Midland District Society” did important work for primary education in Kingston, at a time when that was most needed, and well deserves a place in the story of its development.

Mr. C. W. Cooper, in his Essay on Kingston, thus refers to the increased efficiency of the “Common Schools” in 1855, about the time when the M. D. schools were discontinued. “There is,” he says, “a great want of proper and sufficient school houses—a want which, it is anticipated, will soon be supplied, the Board having in contemplation the immediate erection of proper buildings. The free school system

has been adopted here; the difficulties usually attendant on its establishment have not been altogether escaped, the public seeming loth to tax themselves to any great extent for the purpose of general education. A marked increase in the attendance at the city schools has taken place during the last two years, and there are now taught as large a number of children in the common schools of Kingston as in any other Canadian city, in proportion to its population." This improvement has kept pace with the growth of the city, and to-day Kingston is well equipped with good school buildings and flourishing schools.

Various private schools also existed at an early period, at which many good citizens of Kingston received their education. An "old inhabitant" recalls his teacher of sixty years ago—John Hopkins, "nicknamed 'Polly' by the boys, an old-time schoolmaster, who did not spare the cane." One of the best of these private schools deserves special notice, both from the length of its existence and the thoroughness of the teaching, so far as it went. It was that of Miss Anne Douglas, long a well-known and respected citizen, who for more than a generation most carefully instructed a large number of the girls of Kingston, and some of the boys, in the elementary branches of a plain English education, insisting upon thoroughness and accuracy in all things learned, and on the attainment by her female pupils of proficiency in the art of needle work, then considered an indispensable part of their education.

But while Kingston has been favoured with many good schools, both primary and secondary, and with other institutions for higher education, her crowning educational glory is, of course, her university, one of

The Story of Old Kingston.

the oldest in Canada, which has grown with her growth, and conferred upon her the distinction and privileges of a university town. It was foreshadowed as early as 1789, when the U. E. Loyalist settlers of the Midland District memorialised Lord Dorchester, setting forth the educational privations they endured, and praying him to establish a "Seminary of Learning" at Frontenac (Kingston). The schools were indeed forthcoming in course of time, but we hear no more of the "Seminary."

Six years later, in 1795, we find Governor Simcoe urging the Protestant Bishop of Quebec, having at that time jurisdiction in Upper Canada also, to promote the foundation of a Protestant Episcopal University in the Province, an enterprise which he hoped might be aided by contributions from England. No steps in this direction seem to have been then taken beyond a letter written by the Bishop to the Colonial Secretary. After the subsequent departure of Governor Simcoe, the King's answer to the memorial of the Legislature for the grant of land already mentioned for educational purposes, set forth its objects in these two clauses:

"First, by the establishment of free grammar schools in those districts in which they are called for, and

"Secondly, in the process of time, by establishing other seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature, for the promotion of religious and moral learning, and the study of the arts and sciences."

It was, naturally enough, expected in Kingston, so far the premier settlement in Upper Canada, that when a larger and more comprehensive "seminary" should take actual shape, it would be placed there. But here

again the expectation of the citizens was disappointed, for when the foundation of a university was at last seriously contemplated, it soon appeared that York was its destined site. The whilom teacher of the Kingston boys already mentioned, who was afterwards better known as Bishop Strachan, was now Rector of York, and took a leading part in agitating for the proposed university. He secured its location at York, in 1828, and a Royal Charter, which, by making it compulsory that both professors and students should sign the Thirty-nine Articles, practically confined its benefits to members of the Anglican Communion. The institution, which was to be styled King's College, had no existence except on paper until 1842-3; but when the terms of the Charter became known, they naturally excited much dissatisfaction, especially among the Scottish founders of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, who felt that an institution so exclusive in its character and conditions could not be made available for the training of a Presbyterian clergy, and that there was no recourse but the foundation of a more comprehensive and unsectarian university. Unsuccessful in getting, through petitions to the British Parliament, a redress in regard to King's College, which arrived too late, the Presbyterian Synod, about 1835, began to take steps to secure a university of its own, of which Kingston should be the site. A Commission appointed by the Synod held an enthusiastic meeting in St. Andrew's Church in 1839, at which a resolution was moved by young John A. Macdonald, declaring that, in undertaking so Christian and patriotic an object, the support of all classes of the community was anticipated; while another resolution declared

that no religious test or qualification should be required of any student or graduate.

After lengthened negotiations, the Royal Charter passed the Great Seal in October, 1841, incorporating the University of Kingston, under the name of "Queen's College," with "the style and privileges of a University." And thus the little town secured in the same year its metropolitan and its academic elevation. As there was, in this case, no public endowment available, the necessary funds had to be raised mainly by private subscription. Members of the Presbyterian Church, and other friends of higher education throughout the country, responded heartily to the call on their liberality, and a generous grant in aid of the scheme was made by the Church of Scotland, whose Colonial Committee was appointed to assist in launching the new venture. This committee, having very little idea of the difficulties still to be overcome in a new country, rather prematurely appointed the first Principal and Divinity Professor, the Rev. Dr. Liddell, a man of marked ability and attainments; who, in the following October, arrived in Canada to take charge of a university, which, as yet was without a "local habitation." Worse still, he found very few of the intending students really fitted to matriculate in Arts, and only *two ready to enter the classes in Theology.

As the limited resources of the town were at the time heavily taxed to provide the necessary accommodation for Government requirements, it was with difficulty that a plain two-storeyed frame house of

*One of these two was afterwards the much revered Professor Mowat, brother of Sir Oliver Mowat, also a native of Kingston, who long occupied in the university the chair of Oriental Languages.

very moderate size was secured for the first home of the new university. A most competent classical professor was found in the Rev. P. C. Campbell, whose ability and scholarship finally found a wider sphere in the Principalship of the University of Aberdeen, but who had to begin his professorial work by undertaking that of a preliminary tutor, to prepare his intending students for matriculation. A few months later, there arrived from Scotland as professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the well-beloved and highly accomplished Dr. Williamson, who also had to conduct for a time a preparatory class, necessitated by the general deficiency in secondary education. This faithful professor remained at his post through all the struggles and vicissitudes of the university, and, having become Vice-Principal, passed away in an honoured old age, after more than a half century of untiring service.

Like other seats of learning in Canada, Queen's University has had to encounter many and trying discouragements, as well as a series of crushing blows that seemed to threaten its very life. In July, 1844, only two years after its work began, there occurred the unhappy disruption of the Presbyterians in Canada, already referred to as an echo of the previous one in the Church of Scotland; which, of course, by weakening the forces of the Church which had established it, bore very hardly on the fortunes of the infant university. One result was the loss of its Principal and its Classical Professor, who, discouraged by this addition to previous difficulties, soon left their trying fields of labour for a more congenial one in Scotland. Their places, therefore, had to be filled by others, and the Principal's Chair and Hebrew Profes-

The Story of Old Kingston.

sorship were held for eight years by the Rev. Dr. Machar, of St. Andrew's Church, who was enabled to take the duties by securing assistance in his charge. Under his fostering care the university passed through many difficulties incident to its minority, steadily growing in the number of its students and its teaching facilities.

The scanty finances were for a time supplemented by a Government grant of \$2,000, afterwards raised to \$5,000, and continued till 1868, when it was finally withdrawn by the Sandfield-Macdonald Government. The chair of Classics was soon filled by another accomplished scholar, Professor Romanes, the father of the late celebrated biologist, George John Romanes, who was born in Kingston in 1848, shortly before the removal of his father to Great Britain. Other professors were gradually added, and the University received an additional equipment by the affiliation of the "Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons," founded mainly by the active efforts of the late Doctors John Stewart and John R. Dickson. About the same time, the Chair of Moral Philosophy was occupied for a time by a man of marked original ability, the Rev. James George, LL.D., whose brilliant prelections were much appreciated by the students who enjoyed them.

When Dr. Machar laid down the cares of office as too onerous in conjunction with his pastoral work, the duties of Principal were temporarily discharged by the Rev. Dr. Cook, of Quebec, until the appointment of another Scottish clergyman, the late Principal Leitch, who entered on the office in 1860, and from whose known ability, brilliant record and genial character, the happiest results were anticipated. Un-

der his administration, the University added to its equipment a Faculty of Law, and received additions to its small teaching staff, notably Professor Clarke Murray, in later years the much esteemed Professor of Metaphysics at McGill University. Unhappily, the premature death of Principal Leitch in 1864 again left the office vacant, to be filled by the Rev. Dr. Snodgrass, who, for the ensuing thirteen years, ably presided over the University, carrying it through another crisis arising from the withdrawal of its small Government grant, in 1868, which threatened its extinction through the loss of what was a considerable proportion of its yearly income.

By this time, however, Queen's had sent forth a numerous body of attached graduates, already doing good work in all the professions, and these did not fail their *Alma Mater* in her time of need. Through their generous aid, and the indefatigable labours of the Principal, as well as of the devoted and lamented Professor Mackerras, whose life was sacrificed to his untiring zeal, the University not only escaped the peril of starvation, but was placed, by an endowment of \$10,000, upon a much more assured financial basis, with brighter prospects for the future.

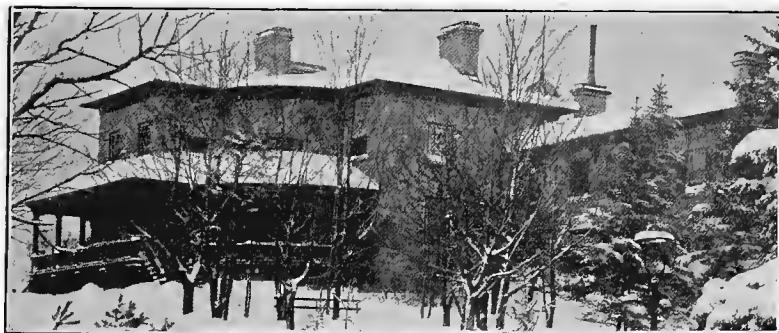
But a new era in its progress began, when, on the retirement of Principal Snodgrass in 1877, shortly after the reunion of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. George Monro Grant, D.D., of Halifax, was called to the Principal's chair. A Nova Scotian by birth, he was the first native Canadian to fill the office, and well and brilliantly did he fulfil the high expectations of his friends. As the University was still most inadequately endowed and under-manned for the fast growing needs of the country, as well as greatly cramped

The Story of Old Kingston.

for accommodation, the patriotic Principal at once recognized the arduous task before him in order to fit Queen's for maintaining her honourable standing in the face of the demands of the times; and with characteristic enthusiasm, energy and sagacity, he braced himself to his great work. One of the first visible results of his labours was a fine Arts' building, Norman-Gothic in style, erected, in response to his earnest appeal, at a cost of about \$80,000, by the citizens of Kingston, the corner-stone being laid by H. R. H. the Princess Louise during her sojourn in Canada. The nucleus of endowment, subscribed a few years before by the sons and friends of Queen's, was increased from time to time by a steady flow of generous gifts and bequests, one of the first and most generous, from a graduate, being that of Robert Sutherland, a grateful West Indian "coloured" student of early years. One new building after another arose on the Campus, until, by the time when, to the deep regret of all the University's friends, its energetic Principal was removed by death, a stately group of substantial edifices for teaching Arts, Science, Medicine, Physics, Engineering, Mining, etc., stood witnesses to the success of his labours and the rapid growth of his charge. The Prince of Wales, when visiting Kingston in 1902, laid the corner-stone of the new Arts Building, and paid a gracious informal visit to the Principal, then lying ill, practically worn out by his strenuous and unremitting toil. It only needed the noble "Grant Hall," built by students and graduates in his memory—at the time of its erection the finest Convocation Hall in Canada—and the gymnasium and medical laboratory more recently added, to complete an imposing equipment and an enduring



ARTS BUILDING AND GRANT HALL, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.



OLD COLLEGE BUILDING, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.
Formerly residence of Archdeacon Stuart now residence of Principal and two professors.

monument to the twenty-five years of Principal Grant's administration.

As a University open to all desiring to avail themselves of the privileges of a liberal education, Queen's never closed her doors against any female students who might find their way into her class-rooms; and under the *régime* of Principal Grant they did so in rapidly increasing numbers. The first facilities for the medical education of women were supplied by her Faculty, and a Woman's Medical College was founded, which, during ten years of active work, educated a number of competent female physicians, including medical missionaries to India; though the formation and growing competition of other such schools eventually led to the decision to close the classes at Queen's. Many female graduates in Arts also have gone forth to fill important positions in Canadian High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, which Queen's, during her half century of active service, has supplied with many able and progressive teachers of both sexes. Nor should her athletic *prestige* be forgotten, for the prowess of her football and hockey teams has won renown throughout the Dominion.

As might have been expected of a University with such a history and traditions, Queen's declined to accede to the project, formulated in 1884, that she should merge her time-honoured status and individuality in one great central University at Toronto. Too many personal sacrifices had been made for securing her privileges of independent existence; and by a practically unanimous vote of her trustees and graduates, Queen's elected to retain her independent existence and local habitation, which last, indeed, it would have been a breach of faith with Kingston to

The Story of Old Kingston.

desert. And this position was fully endorsed at an enthusiastic Jubilee meeting held in the University in 1889, in commemoration of the one which originated it in 1839, and in honour of its far-sighted founders, and the success which had crowned their efforts.

The recent history of Queen's scarcely comes within our sphere. It is sufficient to say that under the wise and able guidance of its present head, Principal Gordon, the University has progressed with increasing impetus. She has more than doubled the number of her students during the last decade, and the tale of her graduates now numbers some three thousand. She enrolled last session, in all faculties, 1,200 students, under a staff consisting of some fifty professors, with about twenty additional lecturers and assistants—an added population yearly supplying life and animation to Kingston's social atmosphere. The University functions are always objects of general interest, and in the tone imparted to the place by the presence of so many literary and scientific men, among whom it is not invidious to particularise Vice-Principal Dr. John Watson, so widely known by his philosophic writings, and Professor N. Dupuis, whose luminous scientific lectures the citizens have so often enjoyed, Kingston has good reason to consider her University one of her best intellectual assets, as well as a crowning glory to her civic life.

The Royal Military College, another important academic institution, intended to train young men for the defence of the country, was founded at Kingston by the Mackenzie Government. Point Frederick, so long associated with the early naval depôt and dockyard, was appropriately selected as the site of the

fine buildings, and the old "Stone Frigate" was turned to account for its use. The first Commandant, Colonel Hewett, was appointed in October, 1875, and the College was opened in June, 1876, with eighteen cadets. Since that time 720 young men have passed through the institution, the number in 1907 reaching ninety. Of these, 129 have joined the Imperial army, and not a few, among whom might be particularised Sir Percy Girouard and Major Arthur Lee, have won honourable distinction by their services to the Empire. Sixty-six are employed in the Canadian forces in the N.-W. Provinces, some sixty have already passed away from this earthly scene, and the remainder, so far as is known, are employed in some department of civil life. The teaching staff, including the medical officer and Quartermaster, numbers sixteen, and the course, which was originally arranged for four years, now occupies but three. Entrance examinations were at first held half-yearly; but, since 1880, they have been held annually, cadets joining the College about the first of September.

Six Commandants have held office since the College was established, the present one being Colonel E. T. Taylor, a native Canadian, and one of the early cadets. Besides its more specific usefulness to the country, the Royal Military College adds another interesting element to the social and intellectual life of Kingston. The occasional volunteer camps also held in the vicinity help to maintain the ancient military *prestige* of the loyal old city.

Regiopolis College was founded under Roman Catholic auspices about 1850, as a Seminary for educating youths of that Communion, but has been closed for a number of years. It was originally

The Story of Old Kingston.

conducted in the large, substantial building, now greatly enlarged and known as the *Hotel Dieu*; but, a few years ago, when that structure was turned into a hospital, a new Regiopolis College was opened in the building on King Street, formerly known as the "Commercial," and later as the "Merchants" Bank.

The Public Schools of Kingston have, within the last two decades, greatly grown and improved, and now, as in other places, occupy some of the best buildings in the city. The "Louise School," in particular, erected near the Collegiate Institute, and at about the same time, is a large, well-equipped institution adapted to meet the growing requirements of the age. The Separate Schools have also been much improved, and the "St. Vincent Academy," built on the site of the first Roman Catholic church in Kingston, is also a handsome modern structure, educating a large number of the children of the R. C. community.

Kingston possesses also two business colleges, for the benefit of those who desire merely a business training. One of these, of a good many years' standing, was long conducted by the late T. McKay, who has been succeeded by Mr. Metcalfe. The other, occupying what was the old Collegiate Institute, is taught by Mr. Stockdale, and in its close vicinity is a Dairy School, where young farmers obtain instruction in the scientific principles of dairy farming, which, in time, will no doubt tend to improve the character of farm products in the vicinity.

An enumeration of the educational facilities of Kingston would be incomplete without a reference to its Mechanics' Institute, which has been, for more than sixty years, doing good work in the circulation of useful books and periodical literature, while at times

An Educational Centre.

it has made more actively educational efforts, in the direction of evening lectures for artisans and others willing to improve their spare time. Kingston has, as yet, no free library, though it possessed for a good many years a Public School library which to a certain extent answered the purpose, but is now divided among the city schools. Queen's University has, of course, a large library, adapted to the needs of its own constituency, but not intended for public use.

As Kingston furnishes a large proportion of the mariners who sail the inland seas, it is most fitting that it should possess a school in navigation for seamen, which is held in the former Collegiate Institute; and one of its substantial old residences, near the site of old Fort Frontenac, has been fitted up as a "Sailor's Home," for the use of strangers in port.

In conclusion, a brief reference must be made to the Young Men's Christian Association, which has done good work in Kingston for nearly half a century, for young men and boys, and now occupies a handsome building on Princess Street. A Young Women's Christian Association has also for some twenty-five years past offered opportunities of mental and physical improvement to young women, and has recently taken a step in advance, in the purchase of a fine and commodious building, with grounds attached, on Johnson Street.

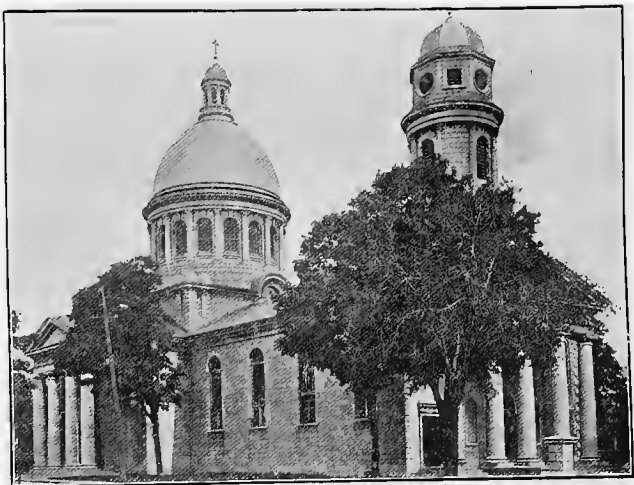
With all her facilities of education in different degrees, a small Art Association, a Musical Union, and clubs of various sorts for mutual improvement, the modern city well maintains the honourable traditions of "Old Kingston" as a chief educational centre of the Province of Ontario.

CHAPTER XV.

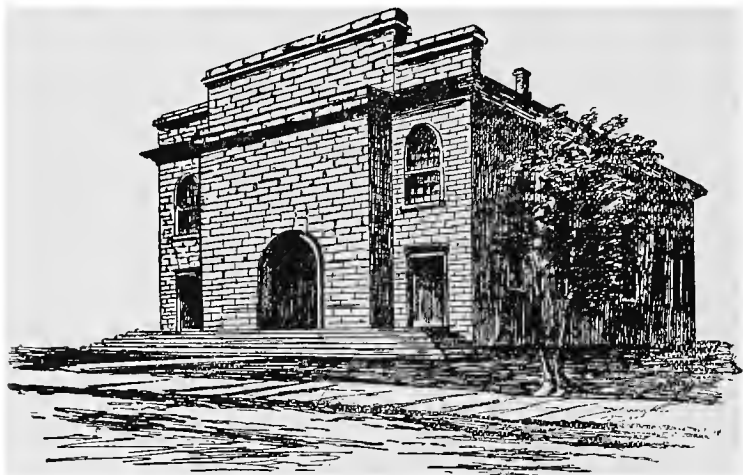
CHURCHES AND CHARITIES.

The growth of the churches and charities of a community is a phase of its history well worthy of special record, as being closely associated with its moral and spiritual progress. As to the latter, Kingston and the Midland District were, from the earliest days of settlement, much privileged in the noble character and Christian zeal of the pioneer missionaries who fostered the religious life of the settlers; and to their work and memory it is only just that due honour should be given.

The Rev. John Stuart, afterwards Dr. Stuart, already several times mentioned in these pages, was the first Christian minister who settled in the Province, and has been appropriately styled the "Father" of the Church in Upper Canada. Born in Pennsylvania, of a Presbyterian family from the north of Ireland, the stalwart youth, while studying in Philadelphia, decided to take orders in the Church of England, and, having been ordained in London, was appointed to a mission among the Mohawks in the State of New York. When the Revolutionary War broke out, he found himself, as an ardent Loyalist, ranged on the opposite side from his two brothers, and his position, like that of many in similar plight, growing more and more embarrassing and even perilous, he was obliged to relinquish his mission. After two years of enforced inaction, he was, in 1781, at last permitted to remove to Canada, residing at first in Mont-



PRESENT ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL.



THE SECOND ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH.

Begun in 1825.

(By Courtesy of Kingston News.)

real, where he taught a school, officiated as a deputy chaplain, and visited some of his Indian converts in that district, refugees like himself.

His desire, however, was to follow the general stream of the Loyalists to Upper Canada, and after a preliminary tour through the new settlements, he established himself at Cataraqui, "the only refugee clergyman in the Province," as he says, receiving the appointment of Chaplain to the garrison, and purposing, over and above his ministry in what was little more than a military station, to maintain an Indian mission in his vicinity. He obtained a grant of land within half a mile of the garrison, to which he occasionally secured additions, and was named as one of the first three Justices of the Peace for the District of Mecklenburg—an honour, which for obvious reasons, he declined. As he tells us, he found the people "not the most favourable to morality and industry," but, as we have seen, he taught the children, while he exhorted the parents, and by his kind and conciliatory influence he undoubtedly did much to raise the moral and spiritual tone of the growing community. His six feet four helped to give him a commanding presence, as well as the nickname of the "little gentleman," which testifies to the affectionate esteem with which he was regarded in the place.

As has been already said, there were in 1792, according to the Hon. Richard Cartwright, not more than one hundred Anglican families in the whole of Upper Canada. Of these, thirty were settled at Kingston, not a few of whom had to depend for their livelihood on manual labour. For the first few years Dr. Stuart held his weekly services in a large room set apart for that purpose at the barracks, which fur-

nished a considerable portion of his congregation. But in 1790 it was decided by fifty-four subscribers to build a small church on a block of land granted by Government, and now bounded by King, Brock, Wellington and Clarence Streets. Here, somewhat to the north-west of the present St. George's Cathedral, and immediately behind the Masonic building of to-day, the first Kingston church was erected, described by a visitor in 1820 as a "long, low, blue wooden building, with square windows and a little cupola or steeple for the bell, like the thing on a brewery, placed at the wrong end of the building." The little bell, weighing only 60 lbs., which called the people to worship, was cast in Bristol, England, and though now cracked and unable to discharge its proper function, still hangs as a relic in a Memorial Church at Adolphustown. The church seems to have been first used in 1793, but its interior equipment was only completed in the following year, the whole cost being about \$800, subscribed by the congregation. In August, 1794, Bishop Mountain made the first Episcopal visitation, and held the first Confirmation service within its halls.

Dr. Stuart died in 1811, and his ashes rest near those of his son, and others of early Kingston's honoured dead, in the leafy old precincts of St. Paul's Church. One of his sons, Sir Charles Stuart, was Chief Justice of Lower Canada, but his eldest son, the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart, having been educated partially at Harvard, and stationed for some time as a missionary at York, succeeded his father in the rectory of Kingston in 1812, where, for about half a century he was familiarly known as "The Archdeacon," and where, as has been shown by other references, he was a leader in

Churches and Charities.

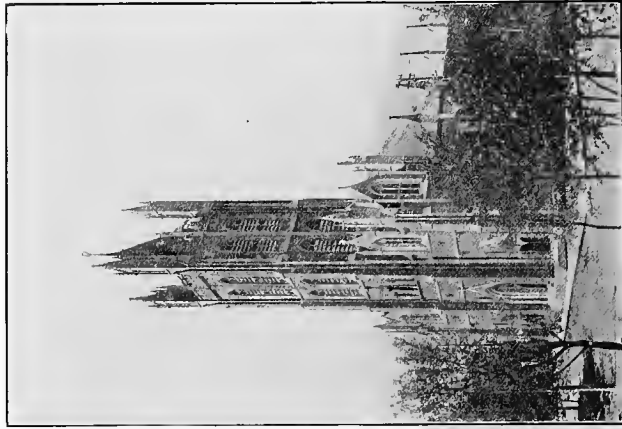
all movements for the public good. Having inherited from his father much land at Kingston, his kindly nature found great satisfaction in promoting the settlement on it of respectable artisans who desired homes of their own. In this way was built up the district bordering on Barrie Street, long known as Stuartsville, or Lot "Twenty-four," in the vicinity of the rambling "Colonial" residence which he built for himself and sold in 1854 to the University. One of his peculiarities, indeed, was a passion for building, which he subsequently gratified by erecting another handsome mansion in a then unsettled district, which was left unfinished, but is now a commodious residence. This slight eccentricity, however, in no way interfered with the universal esteem in which he, and his amiable wife, were held, nor with the sincere regret felt for his death at the ripe age of eighty-six. His only son held high office as a Judge in Quebec, but was never in any way connected with Kingston, where, however, the good Archdeacon's names and designation are still perpetuated in Arch, Deacon, George, O'Kill, and Stuart Streets.

About twelve years after his ministry began, the congregation, which had worshipped for a generation in the little blue church aforesaid, being now considerably larger, decided on building a new edifice on the present Cathedral site, previously occupied by the old Courthouse and Gaol, surrounded by a high palisaded wall. The new building was begun in 1825, and the corner-stone was laid by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, on June 25th, with impressive ceremonial—the procession of clergy and public men starting, we are told, from Walker's Hotel (the original British American) to meet the Gover-

The Story of Old Kingston.

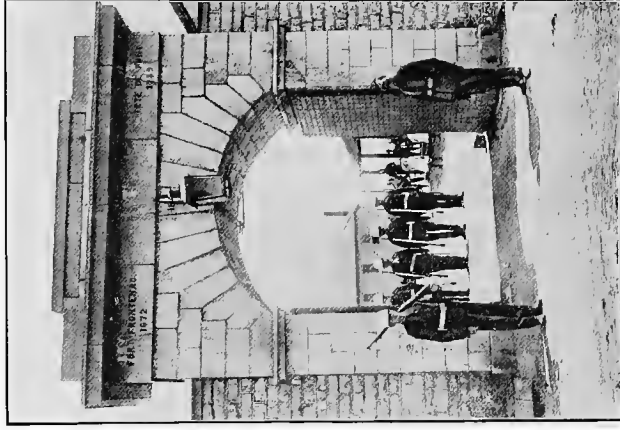
nor at the Government Wharf and escort him to the church. It was built of native limestone, of comparatively spacious dimensions, with a handsome stone cupola, though without the dome and pillared portico afterwards added. Its cost, £1,400, was mainly defrayed by a grant from Government, and the contributions of the congregation, the Archdeacon and the Bishop of Quebec assisting. In 1840 the church was greatly enlarged, and after it became the Cathedral Church of the new Diocese it was further remodelled into a very handsome and imposing edifice. This was unfortunately destroyed by fire on January 1st, 1898, but was restored in its present equally stately form by the generous gifts of the congregation and other friends, under the esteemed ministry of the late Dean Smith.

St. Andrew's Church was the first stone church built in Kingston, and was erected some time about 1820 by the Scottish residents of the town, previous to the arrival of its first much-loved pastor, the Rev. John Barclay, who died five years after his ministry began. It was a plain, substantial building, unadorned save by its cut stone front and well proportioned steeple. It likewise received considerable additions during the thirty-six years ministry of its much esteemed pastor, the Rev. Dr. Machar, regarded in his time as one of the best preachers in Canada. The quaint old building was destroyed by fire during the pastorate of the present incumbent, the Rev. John Mackie, D.D., and a new and handsome structure in the Norman-Gothic style now occupies the site, and is one of the finest church buildings in the city. After the division of the Presbyterian Church, already noticed, two other congregations were formed in King-



ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL.

Begun about 1844.



GATE OF TÊTE-DE PONT BARRACKS.

On site of old Fort Frontenac.

Churches and Charities.

ston, respectively styled the "Scotch Free" and the "Irish Free." The first body built for itself Chalmers Church, whose minister was the Rev. R. F. Burns, later of Halifax. The original church was pulled down and replaced by the present Chalmers Church, under the still active ministry of the Rev. Mr. McGillivray, D.D., while the second built the present Cooke's Church, since enlarged and remodelled, whose first pastor, the Rev. A. Wilson, long ministered to its people.

The zeal of the Methodists of Kingston in building largely with their own hands their original places of worship has already been noticed in connection with the progress of the town. A Methodist church seems to have existed in Kingston in 1810, prior to the small wooden edifice on Bay Street which served them for a number of years. This was probably the one which, by the courtesy of its congregation, supplied that of the first St. George's Church with a place of worship while the second church was being completed. The circumstance is well worth recording as an instance of the good feeling and brotherly fellowship between different classes and creeds which prevailed in old Kingston, due, doubtless, to the influence and example of its leading citizens, who dwelt together in unity and worked in hearty co-operation for the best interests of the town for a number of years. The present handsome Sydenham Street Church was built in the fifties, but has been much enlarged and improved, and its pulpit has been occupied by a long succession of good men and earnest preachers, the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, as has been noticed, being the resident minister at the time of Lord Sydenham's lamented death. Several of the Kingston churches have had their

The Story of Old Kingston.

"baptism of fire," and the Queen Street Methodist Church, burned down some twenty years ago, arose from its ashes larger and handsomer than before. A smaller church on Brock Street has been diverted to other uses, and a new brick church on that street, crowned by the tallest spire in the city, was built within the last twenty years, while some smaller ones in the suburbs attest the activity of this large and zealous body.

Returning to the Anglican churches, St. Paul's, built in old English style, with a massive tower, in the ancient burial ground, where, amid the ashes of so many other early citizens, rest those of the Rev. Robert D. Cartwright, was erected as a memorial of him. It was burned down about 1854, but speedily rebuilt. St. James' Church, a handsome Gothic structure, was erected in the late forties, its first pastor being the Rev. R. V. Rogers, who has already been referred to as one of the early headmasters of the Grammar School, and its second the late Rev. F. W. Kirkpatrick, son of the first Mayor of the town, whose premature death in 1886 was deeply regretted, and who was then succeeded by the present incumbent, the Rev. Archdeacon Macmorine.

The first Roman Catholic church, St. Joseph's, was built for the use of the French people in Kingston, and one of its first missionary priests, the Rev. R. Gaulin, afterwards Bishop of Kingston, has already been specially mentioned in connection with the War of 1812. The first Bishop of Kingston was the Rev. Alexander McDonell, a native of Highland Scotland, and educated in Spain, who came to Canada in 1804. His diocese was the whole of Upper Canada, and from the time when he first entered upon his pastoral

duties, with little assistance in the Province, he was accustomed to travel from Lake Superior to Cornwall, often through uninhabited wilds, on horseback, on foot, or in Indian canoes, sharing the "fires and fares" of the savages, or the privations and poor cabins of his humble parishioners, in the spirit of the apostolic missionaries of earlier times, and of some in our own Northwest to-day. He helped by his influence to raise the 2nd Regiment of Glengarry Fencibles during the War of 1812, and was consecrated in 1822 Bishop of Kingston, where he officiated for a number of years, greatly esteemed and revered by all classes of citizens. The high and commanding site on which stands the fine Gothic Cathedral elsewhere mentioned, together with that of the adjoining Bishop's palace and grounds, formerly called Selma Park, was his generous gift, and the Cathedral vaults contain his tomb. Another much respected early ecclesiastic was the Rev. Father Dollard, whose name was once a household word in Kingston. Not far from the Cathedral stands a large, substantial building, now the *Hotel Dieu*, formerly the home of Regiopolis College, already noticed. On what was formerly part of the same block stands a tasteful stone schoolhouse, known as the Christian Brothers' School, one of the Separate Schools of Kingston, the other being called St. Vincent's School, and occupying the site of the old St. Joseph's Church, now removed.

The Congregational and Baptist Church edifices are of comparatively modern erection, the oldest of the latter, however, being now disused, as a new one is in course of erection. The first Congregational Church in early days enjoyed for many years the ministrations of the Rev. K. M. Fenwick, latterly Professor

Fenwick, of Montreal, who died there in a ripe old age, and whose only son, Dr. Kenneth Fenwick, one of Kingston's most distinguished surgeons, was, to the regret of all, prematurely cut off by blood poisoning.

The Salvation Army's meeting-place, if it cannot boast of architectural pretensions, must not be entirely passed over, as it exercises a most important influence in its own sphere, and has been a power for good in many lives since its advent in Kingston in 1883; but it, of course, belongs entirely to modern Kingston, and is rather beyond the limits of this outline.

If the churches of Kingston, in addition to their actual purpose and higher functions, constitute the main part of the architectural adornment of the city, the County Courthouse, devoted to the interests of law and order, claims, from its architectural beauty and effective site and setting, a first place in the æsthetic assets of Kingston. It is built of the light limestone of the locality, which when cut and seen at a distance almost suggests marble, and in style is purely Greek, with massive Ionic pillars adorning its façade. It stands on elevated ground, the cricket ground and city park sloping down in front towards the blue waters of Lake Ontario, while several of the most imposing towers and spires are grouped behind it. Immediately in rear stand the Gaol and the official residence appertaining to it, while close by is a Registry Office in the same chaste Greek style as the Courthouse. In front of the latter has been placed an ornamental fountain, as a memorial of the late Sir George Kirkpatrick, who died Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, who was for some years member for Kingston, and was the eldest son of its first Mayor. In the foreground is a spacious cricket-field, and, nearer

the lake, the city park, with its shady avenues and flower-beds, and at one corner a fine statue of Kingston's long-time member, Sir John Macdonald. It should possess a similar memorial of another distinguished Kingstonian, Sir Oliver Mowat; and statues of the French founders of the place, Frontenac and La Salle, would also be most appropriate, as supplying an object-lesson in our history. Taken in connection with the smaller Macdonald Park, on the water front below King Street, the whole constitutes a beautifully situated and spacious recreation ground. It was originally a common used for military parades, but was laid out as a park in the early fifties, under the judicious supervision of one of Kingston's early surgeons, Dr. H. Yates. Ontario Park, some miles out of town, lying along the margin of the lake, forms a pleasant resort on warm summer days, when the coolness of the lake breezes and the dashing surf make a welcome change from even the well-shaded Kingston streets.

One of the most notable and attractive groups of buildings in the residential part of the city is that which belongs to the General Hospital, contiguous to the academic grounds of Queen's University. Its history, along with that of the other charitable institutions of the place, is not the least interesting portion of the past history of Kingston. The small beginning from which the present important institution has grown was made about 1821, by the little band of capable and large-hearted ladies belonging to the "Female Benevolent Society," to which reference has already been made in connection with the founding of the first school for the poor. The funds for the undertaking had to be raised by voluntary contribu-

tions, and as there was no suitable building available, an old blockhouse was fitted up for the reception of the sick, and served the purpose for some years. It was, however, destroyed by fire, with all its contents, about the end of the thirties, and for a time Kingston was again without a place of treatment for its sick poor. Its loss being severely felt, and a grant of £388 having been voted by the Legislature, the ladies re-opened their hospital in December, 1842, in a building which had been used as an "emigrant hospital" during the severe visitation of cholera already mentioned. The Kingston merchants, as we find from the old minutes of the Society, liberally supplied all the furnishings, thus leaving the funds at command to be used in providing other necessities. Soon after, a movement was made towards "providing a permanent hospital for the large and growing town," resulting in the erection of the central portion of the present General Hospital, which, however, was very soon temporarily diverted to other uses, being rented to the Government for the meetings of Parliament during the period when Kingston was the seat of Government. When that was removed to Montreal, the ladies obtained permission to equip two wards in the new hospital building, which were opened in November, 1845; and, during the winter following, eighty-two patients were admitted. The original hospital had been kept open during the winter only, but it was strongly felt by the members of the F. B. S. that it must now be at all times open to receive patients, especially as the population was fast increasing through the influx of immigration and the opening of Government works. A memorial to this effect was drawn up, was endorsed by the visiting physicians

Churches and Charities.

and ministers, and forwarded to Government, in order to secure its continued aid, as to which some doubts had been felt. A grant of £390 was, however, shortly transmitted to the Mayor of Kingston for the "relief of the indigent sick." As the ladies of the F. B. S. felt that the charge of a permanent hospital would soon prove too heavy a responsibility for them to maintain, a public meeting was called, to which their report was submitted, and at which "the cordial thanks of the inhabitants of Kingston were respectfully tendered to the ladies of the F. B. S. for the efficient and praiseworthy manner in which they have managed the hospital under their charge since the year 1821." It was agreed that the ladies should be relieved of the management as soon as an Act of Incorporation should be secured, and that, in the meantime, they should be requested to continue their charge of it with a committee of gentlemen to assist them.

In the following June, however (1847), an unlooked for emergency occurred in the arrival of a number of immigrants stricken with typhus fever, who had to be crowded into the hospital, to the exclusion of all other patients. The devoted matron of the institution, Mrs. Martin, with her daughter, exhausted by excessive labour, fell a sacrifice to the malady, and the temporary relinquishment of hospital work consequent on this calamity* seems to have closed the formal connection of the members of the F. B. S. with the charity. As a list of their names has been preserved in the old records, it is only right that

*Many of the victims were interred in the hospital grounds, where a mound, crowned by a monument, marks the spot, and commemorates the devotion of the physicians, notably of the late Dr. John Stewart, then recently arrived from Scotland.

The Story of Old Kingston.

they should be perpetuated in the city's honour roll. The list runs as follows: Mrs. (Archdeacon) Stuart, Mrs. Kirby, Mrs. Cartwright, Mrs. Machar, Mrs. Askew, Mrs. Muckleston, Miss Macdonald (sister of Sir John), Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Heath, Miss Fowler, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Strange, Mrs. D. J. Smith, Mrs. Hagerman, Mrs. Hales, Mrs. Raynes, Mrs. Lang, Mrs. Edie, Mrs. Haines, Mrs. Counter, Miss Winslow, Mrs. Baker, Miss Williamson, Mrs. Earle, Mrs. Macpherson, and Mrs. McLeod. Some of these names have been long forgotten, but the results of their work have endured.

The hospital prospered under its new *régime* and the energetic efforts of the physicians, who have always been its most active and faithful friends. Though it has never possessed any rich endowment, yet numerous legacies and benefactions have supplied the means for the fine group of buildings that have sprung up, in the course of years, around the original central edifice, which was some years ago partially destroyed by fire, and rebuilt. These, supplied by the generosity of citizens, include a "Watkins" and a "Nickle Wing," a "Doran building," and a handsome Nurses' Home, the last recently erected. The hospital is provided with spacious wards, pleasant rooms for private patients, and a well-equipped operating theatre, and is a boon not only to the city, but to the whole surrounding country.

The members of the F. B. S., being relieved from the cares of the hospital, turned their attention to the founding of another useful institution for the needy, in line with the work of outdoor relief in food and clothing which they had already been conducting. The words of Mrs. Cartwright, the able secretary of

Churches and Charities.

the Society, thus describe the object of the new venture:

“During the summer of 1847 the crowded state of the hospital and the general prevalence of fever throughout the town prevented the operations of the Society from being carried on in the usual manner; but, several successive meetings having been called, towards the close of the season, it was at length agreed that ‘efforts should be made for the establishment of a House of Industry, as the most effectual means of affording relief to the many destitute beings left among us by the recent calamitous season of sickness and destitution arising from the awful visitation of famine in Ireland.’” As a result of these efforts a stone building then at the head of Princess Street, was secured for the reception of widows and orphans from the emigrant sheds, under the immediate superintendence of a committee of gentlemen, assisted by the ladies of the F. B. S., who undertook to “devise means of employment for the inmates of the institution and promote the sale of articles made there.”

Having thus established this much-needed charity, the F. B. S. applied themselves to provide for the permanence of the institution as “a place of refuge for the destitute, and calculated to check imposture and mendicity;” and they speedily established a school in connection with it, and provided a teacher to instruct the ignorant orphan children who constituted a large proportion of its inmates. As it was feared that the institution might be closed for lack of funds, an earnest appeal was issued by the F. B. S. “deprecating the idea of casting out so many helpless beings to cling to a miserable and precarious mode of living about town, in wretchedness, begging

The Story of Old Kingston.

and vice, or to wander through the country, uncertain whither to bend their steps;" and urging that an effort should be made to secure a grant of land and erect suitable buildings. This memorial at least served to keep the Refuge open, though only a few women and children were for a time retained in it; and Francis M. Hill, Esq., Mayor in 1847, did what he could to promote its interests.

In 1852 a deputation from the F. B. S. visited the newly elected Mayor, John Counter, Esq., "to press the importance of measures for the prevention of street begging and other plans for ameliorating the condition of the poor." Shortly after, the ladies were requested to collect funds, under the Mayor's authority, for the House of Industry; and the wife of the Mayor, with Mrs. Cartwright and Mrs. Machar, were requested by the trustees to form themselves into a committee, with power to add to their number, in order to take a general superintendence of the school held in it, and of the female department of the institution generally, which they long continued to do.

The school, of course, was discontinued when the Orphan's Home was opened for the children; but the Refuge for the destitute continued to grow with the needs of the place, though for many years most inadequately housed and equipped. For thirty years past, however, it has been more fittingly established in a building belonging to the city, which has been from time to time enlarged and improved, in order to make it a more comfortable shelter for the "destitute, homeless and infirm who are obliged to seek a home within its walls." The most notable addition for this purpose which it has received in later years was supplied by private liberality, in the wing built in 1887 as a

"Home for the Aged," the generous gift of the late Dr. Skinner and his family, intended as a Home for aged couples, or for the more respectable class of needy aged women. It is managed by a Board elected by the subscribers, with four representatives from the City Council. About 1889 a proportion of ladies was for the first time elected on its Board, as—considering its past history—was but fitting; and during the years that have followed, its domestic equipment and arrangements have been greatly improved, while it has continued to prove a friend in need to many homeless poor in Kingston and the surrounding country.

In the same year, 1852, the F. B. S. prepared to found another benevolent institution in Kingston by reconstituting itself under the name of the "Widows' and Orphans' Friend Society," its object being defined as "the amelioration of the physical and moral condition of destitute widows and orphans, of vagrant children, and the children of sickly, dissolute or worthless parents." At first, this object was pursued by assisting poor widows in any way that circumstances required, and by opening in the House of Industry a free school for poor children, which included those previously taught there, mainly by volunteer teachers. This school was soon attended by sixty needy children, who were supplied with a mid-day meal of bread and soup, as well as with necessary clothing, great attention being paid by the visiting ladies to their moral training and to the formation of cleanly and industrious habits. The ladies also superintended the work of such female inmates as were able to do useful work for their own benefit. But the needs and unhappy circumstances of these children-inmates led the indefatigable members of the F. B. S. to turn their atten-

tion to the establishment of an Orphan's Home, on which, thereafter, their efforts were mainly concentrated. A small house and a competent matron were secured, and the "Home" was begun with about a dozen children, most of them taken out of the House of Industry. The Society was launched with an excellent working constitution, and has always been smoothly worked thereon by a large committee of ladies elected annually by the subscribers. In course of time, through the liberality of private citizens and the good management of its Board, a suitable piece of land was purchased, and a handsome and substantial building erected for the abode of the well managed and flourishing institution which has succoured, taught and cared for so many destitute children, and which has such a warm place in the hearts of the people of Kingston. One of its most generous benefactors was the late esteemed John Watkins, also a benefactor of the hospital; and in addition to the ladies already named in connection with its foundation, may be mentioned those, once well known in Kingston, of Mrs. and Miss Logie, Mrs. Mair, Mrs. Harper, Mrs. Williamson, Mrs. S. and Mrs. T. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Hugh Fraser, and Mrs. F. George, as having taken a specially active part in its origin and progress.

The *Hotel Dieu* was early established by the Roman Catholic portion of the community—originally in a plain stone building on Brock Street, with a convent attached—the Sisters officiating as nurses. It has now grown to much larger dimensions, and, a few years ago, was removed to the large building erected for Regiopolis College, when its successor was transferred to the former Merchants Bank. It is well equipped with all modern appliances; has received

Churches and Charities.

handsome additions, consisting of a chapel and a Home for the nursing sisters; and, like the General Hospital, yearly cares for many patients from the city and adjoining country.

The House of Providence is another institution under the auspices of the R. C. Church, analogous to the House of Industry in its purpose, but intended for more varied grades of beneficiaries. It is a large and imposing edifice, important additions having been made in recent years; and—besides ample accommodation for its large staff of *religieuses*, and its more special provision for the destitute—contains a comfortable boarding department and also one for the care of orphan or destitute children.

One other charitable institution must be mentioned, the “Home of the Friendless,” a haven to which destitute and forlorn mothers may bring their infants to be taken care of, when unable themselves to maintain them, and where the most friendless may receive counsel and a helping hand. This merciful charity arose out of the knowledge gained by benevolent ladies of the mortality arising from baby-farming, and the institution, though forced to struggle with very small resources, has, like the other charities of Kingston, grown in capacity and usefulness, and been a means of relieving much distress and saving not a few infant lives.

The origin of the City Poor Relief Association for affording outdoor relief in cases of need, may also be traced back to the F. B. S., of which it may be considered the lineal descendant, as it has been managed for about half a century by a committee of ladies on much the same lines on which the original Society endeavoured to meet the needs of the destitute in the

earlier years already referred to, leaving to the city so many beneficent results of its activity. The funds for the charity are mainly collected, as well as administered, by the committee of ladies who freely devote time and labour to investigating the cases of need reported, and relieving them after due enquiry. A similar Society, bearing the name of St. Vincent de Paul, exists under the auspices of the R. C. Church, for the poor of that body, and the two Societies work in friendly co-operation for the good of their needy fellow-citizens.

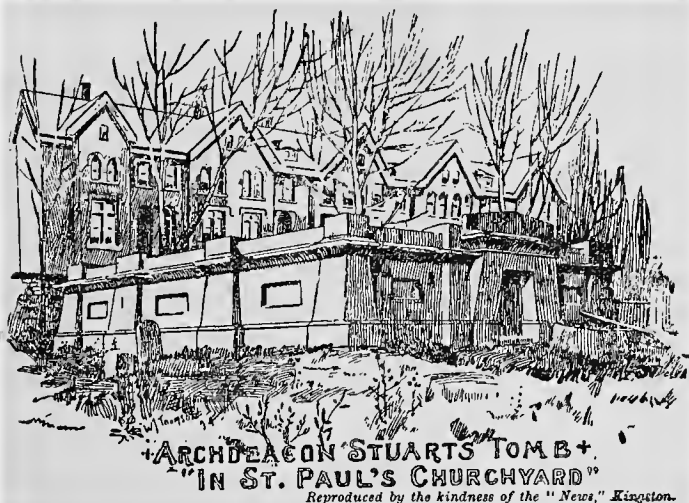
Before leaving the institutions of Kingston, reference should be made to the Provincial Penitentiary and to Rockwood Hospital for the Insane, though neither, properly speaking, belongs to Kingston, and both are situated outside the city's bounds. The mass of buildings required by the Penitentiary was begun in the early fifties, and the place usually contains from four to five hundred prisoners, sent for serious offences from all parts of Ontario. Workshops and quarters for officials are included in the great fortress-like structure, which is enclosed by lofty stone walls, flanked by towers for observation. The residence of the Warden of the Penitentiary stands opposite the prison-gate, and, with its well kept grounds, is an ornament to that quarter of the city.

The Rockwood Hospital for the Insane was begun about 1856, and has from time to time been receiving large additions ever since. It is situated in beautiful and extensive grounds, which, like those of the Penitentiary, adjoin the lake, and were formerly the property of Mr. John S. Cartwright. The spacious buildings afford accommodation for several hundred inmates of both sexes, for whose comfort and cure skill

Churches and Charities.

and kindness do much, and frequently with very beneficial results. Unhappily, the institution is always too well filled.

The pretty suburban village of Portsmouth, lying between the Penitentiary and the Asylum, contains a number of good houses, and two picturesque churches—Anglican and Roman Catholic—but no longer boasts the busy shipyards which once gave employment to a large number of men;—the industry of shipbuilding, so far as Kingston is concerned, being mainly carried on at Garden Island, about two miles distant from the city.



CHAPTER XVI.

SIXTY YEARS AGO.

In the year 1794, as we have seen, ten years after the first settlement by the Loyalists, the village of Cataraqui, as Kingston was then called, possessed 345 inhabitants. By the beginning of the 19th century, the number had risen to 500, and at the close of the first quarter it appears, from a census taken in 1824, that the population, exclusive of the military, amounted to 2,336. In 1836 it had increased to 6,000, and about the year 1855 it numbered between seven and eight thousand. By the close of the nineteenth century the population had increased to only about 20,000, at or near which it has since remained almost stationary, being left far behind by towns recently planted in the wilderness. Various causes have contributed to this lack of progress. The limestone ridge, on part of which the city is built, is not adapted for raising heavy crops; and though the surrounding country is far from unproductive, as the well-stocked market of Kingston testifies, it is not so generously fertile as the average land farther west, where, also, the climate is milder and more attractive to the settler. Taken as a whole, the back country to the north of Kingston seems to promise better returns to the miner than to the farmer, though the development of its mining industries belongs rather to modern than to Old Kingston.

Moreover, with passing years, the main foundations of its early prosperity—its importance as a military station, its shipbuilding and forwarding business—

Sixty Years Ago.

have been to a great extent taken from it. The removal of its British garrison and the closing of the Government dockyard were serious checks to its prosperity, and its shipbuilding and forwarding business has been greatly curtailed since the opening, in the fifties, of the Grand Trunk Railroad. The latter has indeed absorbed a large proportion of the carrying trade which made it a busy *entre-pôt* between the navigation of lake and river, when most of the grain and other goods had to be transferred at Kingston docks. When steamers were the only mode of transportation between Toronto and Montreal, supplemented by the stage-coach during the winter months, Kingston profited in many ways by her intermediate position.

In the spring of 1866, however, the loyal old city experienced a temporary revival of its old military enthusiasm, on the occasion of the threatened Fenian invasion from the United States. Once more the Canadian Government called forth its militia and volunteers for the defence of their country, and, in twenty-four hours, fourteen thousand men sprang to arms in response to the summons, rising, as Canadians always have done, to the emergency. Between regular and citizen soldiers, Kingston swarmed with troops, a large number of the volunteers being quartered in the homes of the citizens. Parades and military music enlivened the streets, and the small boys sang lustily a popular ditty, declaring that "beneath the Union Jack" they would "drive the Fenians back!" Happily the threatened peril passed by with little injury to Canada, beyond an encounter or two near the Niagara frontier, and the loss of a few brave lads at Ridgeway, chiefly of the Toronto "Queen's Own."

The Canadian Rifles, the last detachment of the Im-

The Story of Old Kingston.

perial troops to leave Kingston, marched out to be disbanded, on the 31st of March, 1870, and many of the people felt as if they had thus lost a link with the home land. But the city has always had its militia battery, and its volunteer corps, and its occasional military camps, as reminders of its old *prestige*; and during the disturbances in the Northwest, called the first and second Riel Rebellion, it had, through two of its citizens, a link of connection with these exciting events. When, after the first Rebellion, the Canadian Government was endeavouring to reorganise matters after Confederation, and settle the land difficulties in Manitoba, the late J. M. Machar, son of the early clergyman of that name, and later the Kingston Master in Chancery, was sent out, as one of two Commissioners, to settle the pending claims of the half-breeds, which had been one of the chief causes of discontent. And when the second and more serious Riel Rebellion unexpectedly broke out, Kingston was not unrepresented in the "Midland Battalion," which went from the old Midland District, with General Middleton, to the distant Saskatchewan, and helped to win Batoche. Colonel Van Straubenzie, a British officer of long, active service, who had married a daughter of John S. Cartwright, and eventually settled in the suburbs of Kingston, acted on that occasion as General Middleton's brigadier, and, in the words of the historian, McMullen, "skilfully organised and gallantly led" the successful assault which virtually ended what, we may hope, will prove to have been the last Rebellion on Canadian soil.

An "old resident" of Kingston has recently given, in the *British Whig*, some graphic sketches of the

Sixty Years Ago.

Kingston of sixty years ago, from which we quote the following interesting details of the busy scene which Kingston harbour at that period presented during the summer season.

“During the season of navigation the water-front and harbour was a busy place. Wharves extended from the shipyard to the Queen’s Wharf, at the *Tête-de-pont* Barracks. The slips at the foot of the streets were all open. It was no unusual sight to see thirty or forty vessels, from a large, square-rigged three-master down to a fore-and-aft schooner, lying at anchor awaiting their turn to have their cargoes transhipped into barges to go down the river to Montreal. The transferring of cargoes was done by horse and tackle, there being no elevators such as we have in use to-day. The ferry communication between the city and Wolfe Island was by sailing-scows. After a few years the steamboat *Gazelle* was put on as a ferry boat. The American Express line of steamers that ran between Ogdensburg, N.Y., and Lewiston, N.Y., were the *St. Lawrence*, *Niagara*, *Lady of the Lake*, and *Rochester*, and called at Greer’s Wharf, now Craig & Co. The Toronto “mail steamers” were the *Sovereign*, *Princess Royal*, and *City of Toronto*, which called at Bowen’s Wharf, now Swift & Co. They were large side-wheelers, schooner rigged, with flush decks. Their hulls, painted black, with white ports, gave them the appearance of revenue cutters. The Montreal mail line consisted of the steamers *Canada*, *Henry Gildersleeve*, and *Highlander*, which were built for the river route, and were considered fine boats. They called at the Commercial Wharf, at the foot of Princess Street, where Richardson’s elevator now stands. The Bytown and Kingston line of

The Story of Old Kingston.

passenger steamers were the *Otter*, *Bytown*, and *Ottawa*, small, side-wheel boats, the hulls constructed like a fiddle, and the wheels fitted in the recess, and called at the wharf at the foot of Queen Street, now the M. T. Company's dock.

"The shipyard, now the Government drydock, was a very busy place, and a great many men were employed in it. Vessels of all descriptions were built for the lake, river and ocean trade. I remember seeing the hull of the *Passport* put together there, and was on her when she was launched in 1847."

The *Passport* was one of a fine line of river and lake steamers which succeeded the "mail steamers" referred to in these reminiscences. It was owned by a company, of which the President was the Hon. John Hamilton, already mentioned as the son of the Hon. Robert Hamilton, and the father of the present Customs Collector of "the limestone city." The line, of which some survivors still exist under altered names, included the *Corsican*, *Spartan*, *Bohemian*, and, not least important, the *Kingston*, which had the honour of carrying our gracious King, when the young Prince of Wales, from Montreal to Toronto. To the keen and unforgettable disappointment of the assembled people of the district, the Prince did not, however, land for his expected visit to the loyal old city, which, among many decorations in his honour, had allowed an emblematic arch to be constructed by the Orange body, collected in large numbers to do honour to their future King. It was deemed by the Prince's advisers undesirable that the Royal *cortège* should pass under a sectional arch, and as the Orangemen would not consent to remove their arch, the Prince passed on his way, without landing; unless the legend is to be

Sixty Years Ago.

trusted which avers that he landed *incognito* in the evening, in order to have a glimpse of a place in which he could not but feel a special interest, from its name, its origin and its history.

But there were other points of difference between that time and the present, which are also touched upon by the "Old Resident." "Sixty years ago," he says, "there were no gas-works, water-works, telegraph lines or railroads in the city. All travel was by steam-boats in the summer and stages in the winter. I saw the gas and water mains laid, and the telegraph poles erected in the streets of Kingston. The first gas jet lit was in a window of Wilson's buildings on Wellington Street, 1847. The street that evening was crowded with people, who thought it was a wonderful light. The telegraph was a mystery for me. Some of the boys thought they could communicate with each other by striking the poles with stones. We tried the experiment at a distance of several blocks, but it proved a failure!"

"There were very few houses," he tells us, "west of Bagot Street and south of Brock up to Barrie Street—Lot Twenty-four, or Stuartsville, as it was then called. One could stand near the corner of the present Brock and Montreal Streets and see the block-house on Clergy Street south; and from that point one could look east and south, and have a clear view of King Street. Where Sydenham Street Methodist Church now stands was the Circus grounds. Between the property of the Bay of Quinté Hotel—now pulled down (corner Bagot and Brock Streets)—and Regiopolis College, there was a deep quarry, from which the stone was taken to build the college and the walls of St. Mary's Cathedral, then in course of erection.

The Story of Old Kingston.

When the quarry was filled up, the vacant space was fenced in and made into a garden, which became known as the 'Vicar's garden.' The upper part of Princess Street, north from Chatham Street, was all vacant land to Williamsville. One could stand on the south side of Princess Street, a little above Division Street, and look south and west, and see nothing but vacant land. There was a large pond of water, surrounded by rushes, near Victoria Park of to-day. It was said that the pond was fed by springs; the water from it flowed north and south. The north stream flowed across Princess Street, at the old stone bridge, and thence down to Cataraqui Bay. The water flowing south ran down through the common, across Union Street, and through the hospital grounds into the lake."

"There were also large woods between the common and the present city boundary line. Wild pigeons were frequently shot in the woods; plover were plentiful on the common, and wild duck were shot on the pond. The north and east end of the city, after passing Bay Street, was very sparsely settled. Between the city and the outer G. T. R. station there were heavy pine woods, where Indians used to camp and trap muskrats at the edge of the marsh, while the squaws made baskets. Wood," he tells us, "was almost the only fuel used, and was sold at an average of \$2.00 per cord. All kinds of provisions were, of course, much lower in price than now."

Kingston was at that time still the headquarters of the military and naval forces of Upper Canada. Our "Old Resident" tells us that General Sir Richard Armstrong was Commandant of the forces. "The military force," he says, "consisted of a company of

Sixty Years Ago.

Royal Engineers, a battery of Royal Field Artillery, two batteries of Royal Garrison Artillery, two regiments of the line, a commissariat, and hospital corps."

"The naval force consisted of two side-wheel steamers, the *Cherokee* and *Mohawk*. These were brig rigged, and their figureheads represented the chiefs of the Cherokee and Mohawk tribes. There was also the screw steam tender *Lady Barrie*, and a number of bomb ketches. The bluejackets and marines numbered about four hundred men. During the season of navigation the *Cherokee* and *Mohawk* patrolled the lake alternately, one lying at anchor in the harbour while the other was on her cruise.

"The Commodore's residence was a short distance from the Barriefield end of Cataragui Bridge, at the entrance to the dockyard. When the vessels were laid up for the winter months the commissioned and warrant officers were quartered in the stone cottages facing the harbour, and the bluejackets and marines in the stone ship ("Stone Frigate") now used by the R. M. C. Cadets as a barracks.

"The Royal Engineer offices were on Queen Street, in the building now occupied as the Albion Hotel. The field battery was quartered in the Artillery barracks, and the garrison batteries in Fort Henry and the Martello towers, which had just been completed. The Market Battery in front of the city buildings was in course of erection. One of the line regiments was quartered in the *Tête-de-Pont* Barracks, and the other in Fort Henry. The parade-ground then used for the field artillery is now our beautiful city park. The garrison artillery and line regiments paraded on Barriefield common.

"The fortifications were Fort Henry, Fort Fred-

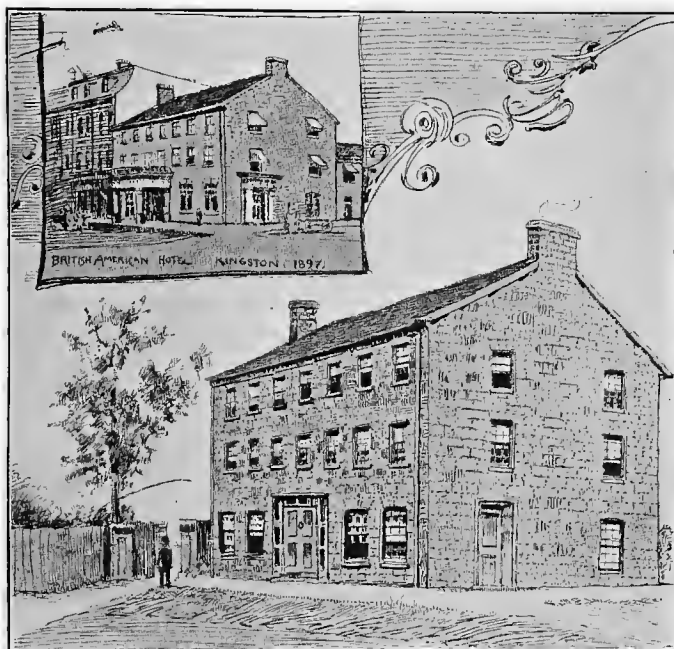
The Story of Old Kingston.

erick, and four Martello towers—Shoal Tower, Murney Point Tower, Point Frederick Tower, and Cedar Island Tower. There were also a number of block-houses, situated as follows, one (still existing) on the bluff, Sydenham Street north, one on Clergy Street south, near the site of the old Grammar School; one on Wellington Street south, near the city park; one near King Street, also one at Kingston Mills, for the protection of the locks at the entrance of the Rideau Canal.

“The General’s residence was on Sydenham Street, opposite Artillery Park (recently removed to make way for the new and imposing Armouries building). The artillery officers were quartered in the Wellington buildings, and the Artillery Mess-house stood where the House of Providence now stands.”

Some other details of the appearance of old Kingston of sixty years ago will become more and more interesting as old landmarks and features become more completely obliterated. The aspect of the market buildings, since partially demolished by fire, and the vicinity, is thus described:

“The shambles of the city buildings extended up to King Street. The front was a beautiful, massive structure, with a tall clock and belfry. On the right side of the entrance was a book and stationery store, and above it a job printing office; on the left, an auction room, with the room above fitted up as a theatre. All the butchers were then compelled to occupy stalls in the shambles. Stone steps on each side of the building led down to the basement, which was occupied by eating-rooms and hucksters’ shops. The portion of the building now occupied by the Bank of British North America was the Star Chamber Saloon, and



EVOLUTION OF THE BRITISH AMERICAN HOTEL FROM
ORIGINAL WALKER HOUSE.

(From "History of Free-Masonry," by J. Ross Robertson.)

the end of the other wing, which is now the Council Chamber, was also a saloon. The basement in front of the building on Ontario Street was occupied as offices by a number of business men. The City Hall was used, as now, for public meetings, entertainments, etc., and Ontario Hall was occupied by Messrs. A. & D. Shaw, as a wholesale dry goods establishment. Most of the country trade was done in the vicinity of the market square, on market days.* The fish market was at the slip at the foot of Brock Street, where the fishing boats landed and were drawn up on the shore in rows, and the fish exposed for sale. On principal market days, from one to two dozen fishing boats would be in, when the fish, from salmon to perch, could be purchased direct from the fishermen.

“The sidewalks were covered with wooden awnings, which were kept nicely painted. Shopkeepers were allowed to exhibit goods on the sidewalks in front of their places of business, and cordwood was allowed to be piled on the side of the street, and cut and split there. Often a barricade of cordwood was made across the sidewalk during the night. Grocers who dealt in salt would have the barrels piled two or three tiers high on the outer edge of the walk, with a block of wood to keep them from rolling.

“The old post office was on Princess Street, north side, near King Street; the old Military Hospital on Princess Street, where Elliott Brothers’ business house now stands. The old court house, with its tall spire, on the corner of Clarence and King Streets, with the gaol in rear, extending along Clarence street to the

*The Kingston market has long been, and still is, an excellent one, well supplied with a great variety of produce by the surrounding farmers and the market gardeners of the vicinity.

The Story of Old Kingston.

old cattle-pound, on the corner of Wellington Street, has been razed and the Custom house erected; while the cattle-pound and police station, in rear of it, is now the site of the post office. *

"The common on the south side of Brock Street, below Regiopolis College, was the general playground for boys, where they flew their kites, played their games, and settled their disputes. Cricket was the principal game; baseball and lacrosse had not been introduced." The boys of Kingston seem, from the sketch, to have been daring and skilful boatmen, building and rigging boats for themselves, which they would sail about the harbour in all kinds of weather. "Almost any boy in Kingston," we are told, "could swim, handle a boat, and skate."

The principal hotels of that period are mentioned as the still-existing British American, the oldest in Kingston, if not in Ontario; Irons, Ontario Street; Lambton House, on Princess Street; National, Barrack and Wellington Streets; City Hotel, and Bay of Quinté Temperance House, which has but recently made way for a modern building. The fire appliances of that time were of a somewhat primitive character, consisting of three engines, a hook and ladder truck, and a large rectangular tank, with leather buckets hung at the wheels. Of the engines, No. 1 was an old-fashioned machine, without suction hose, and worked from the sides by brakes; No. 2, *Victoria*, was a fine, powerful hand-engine, one of the best in her day, and No. 3, another of the same class, somewhat

*Although the "Old Resident" does not mention the fact, it was about that time, or a few years later, that a young poet, Charles Sangster, wrote in Kingston his "St. Lawrence and the Saguenay," and the Scottish bard, Evan McColl, was writing his Highland Lyrics.

Sixty Years Ago.

less powerful, and nicknamed the "Coffee Mill," because worked at the sides by cranks. The Fire Brigade was composed of merchants and tradesmen, and when the City Hall bell rang out the fire alarm the bugles at the barracks would sound the fire call, and the men would fall in, ready to render assistance if required.

From the old-time picture given in the reminiscences above quoted, it will be seen that modern Kingston has had its share in the rapid progress of material improvement during the last sixty years. But it has not shared in the great expansion of trade and manufacture which has transformed in so many cases the villages of sixty years ago into the large and busy cities of to-day. From what has been said, it will be seen that, on the opening of the Grand Trunk Line, running at a distance of two or three miles from the city limits, it was inevitable that the great bulk of the business, as well as the passenger traffic, should forsake the little city which had been so long a half-way house in the highroad of travel and transportation.

The complete extinction of the long cherished hope that Kingston might yet become the capital of Canada was another discouraging disappointment to the Kingston of Cooper's day, and for a time the place was slow to recover from these set-backs. But though it is now rather a tranquil university town than a bustling business centre, it does not lack a considerable number of thriving manufacturing enterprises, with good prospects of increase in their number and efficiency, and the growing development of the surrounding country will yearly promote more.

Although, as has been said, the shipbuilding interest has been greatly curtailed, the Messrs. Calvin's

The Story of Old Kingston.

shipyard on Garden Island, opposite the city, sends out many staunch barks of different grades, and the Government dry-dock is frequently in request for the repair of damaged vessels. If the number of the foundries has diminished since 1856, when they were five in number, the survivors have greatly grown in size and importance. The old Ontario Foundry has become the large and productive Locomotive Works, employing nearly seven hundred hands, and turns out about seventy locomotives in the year. As this is one of Kingston's most important industries, and as its history goes back for more than half a century, it may be given somewhat in detail. Originally established about 1850, for the building and repair of general machinery, it was sold by the first owners, Messrs. Tutton and Duncan, in 1834, to Messrs. Morton and Hinds, who began the manufacture of locomotives—railway construction having then made some headway in Canada. At first only six engines a year were turned out, and these of only about one-sixth of the size of those now built in the works. About ten years later, the "Canadian Engine and Machinery Company" was organised, including many prominent Canadians, who, not proving very successful, sold out in 1878 to the "Canadian Locomotive and Engine Company." Still unsuccessful, the business was about to pass into the hands of the liquidators, when a number of leading Kingstonians united in an effort to save the enterprise for Kingston. They organised into a company in 1881, with Sir George A. Kirkpatrick as President, and Hon. Wm. Harty as Managing Director. Various causes, however, at that time interfered with its success, and after several vicissitudes, the Hon. Wm. Harty, who had, fourteen years be-

Sixty Years Ago.

fore, resigned his position as Managing Director, again stepped in, and in association with Messrs. Haney and Bermingham, purchased the property from the liquidators in 1900, and organised the present business under the name of the "Canadian Locomotive Company," which, under their energetic management and the increased demand for locomotives, has achieved its present great success.

The old Kingston Foundry still retains its name and place, and does good work in heavy castings of all kinds, also employing a large staff of workers. In the fifties, and for a good many years after, there were several small factories for the making of furniture, clocks, shoes, etc., which availed themselves of the convict labour of the Penitentiary, making it in some measure self-sustaining; but the opposition of the workmen's unions put a stop to that source of supply, and the factories, deprived of the advantage it gave them, ceased to exist.

A tannery still exists in the eastern portion of the city, and a broom factory, cereal factory, biscuit factory, vinegar works, and two cigar factories, employ a considerable number of workers, in the latter case chiefly boys and girls. A hosiery mill of considerable size and a large cotton mill, well equipped and up-to-date in its sanitary appliances, also employ many young people, besides a number of older hands. There are also some small planing mills in the eastern part of the city, and one brewery.* A large distillery

*Drinking usages were much more general in Canada sixty years ago than they are now; though it may be remarked, in passing, that the first Canadian Temperance Society was founded at Adolphustown in 1830. Breweries and distilleries took, therefore, an early place among Canadian industries, and in 1856 Kingston possessed four breweries, besides one at Portsmouth. One of these had a distillery attached, a large

which flourished some fifty years ago has been long a thing of the past. Vinegar works have existed for some years, and a cereal industry has been recently established.

In the building of small boats, skiffs, etc., Kingston still keeps up its old *prestige*. Several boat-builders in the city, besides one at Barriefield, opposite, still turn out excellent and much-appreciated small craft, although the large shipbuilding concerns of its early days, except at Garden Island, have quite passed away.

For the first half-century of its existence, Kingston, like other communities of that period, had to do without any public appliances for either water or light. If citizens possessed wells, they were fortunate; otherwise they had to depend on such supplies of water as could be drawn from the lake in barrels—an industry which supplied employment for a number of carters. For light at night they used candles, of wax or tallow, and the streets were dimly illumined by a few oil lamps. About 1847, however, gas-works were undertaken as a private enterprise, notwithstanding the grave predictions of some engineers that the city's hard limestone foundation would interpose serious obstacles to the laying of the pipes. As the gas-works were successfully completed and proved a success, a system of water-works, also undertaken by a company, was successfully carried through, although the pipes had to be laid at a greater depth in order to protect them from frost. Electric light was in time added to the equipment, and as time went on and modern ideas of municipal ownership grew in favour, it was concern long known as "Morton's Distillery," which employed about a hundred men, and fattened a thousand head of cattle in the year. A mineral spring on this property was long a popular resort for Kingstonians, for its hygienic qualities

Sixty Years Ago.

felt to be greatly for the public advantage that both water-works and "heat and light" plant should become the property of the city—as the former have been for a number of years—the "heat and light" plant having been more recently acquired.

In connection with other improvements may be noticed the gradual abolition of intra-mural interment, and the laying out of the beautifully situated and picturesque Cataraqui Cemetery, about three miles outside the city, close to the village of Waterloo. The first settlers' burying-ground, beside St. Paul's Church, with its time-honoured associations, has been often alluded to, and was succeeded by what was long called "the new burying-ground" in the northern part of the city, which was divided into three sections, used chiefly by the Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, respectively. This—now a small park—was, about the middle of last century discarded for the new and extensive cemetery of sixty-five acres then acquired and laid out with much taste and judgment, on a fine knoll, crested with stately pines, and possessing a noble view of the distant lake and country between. It has now become, indeed, a city of the dead, to which the heart of the living city is bound by invisible cords of wistful and sacred affection. Among its specially distinguished monuments, the stranger is sure to be shown those of Sir John A. Macdonald, and of the late Principal Grant of Queen's University.

We cannot take leave of the Kingston of to-day without a reference to its two daily papers, lineal descendants of the earliest newspaper enterprise in old Kingston. The *Daily News and Times* may be called the grandchild of the *Kingston Gazette*, repeat-

The Story of Old Kingston.

edly quoted in these pages, regarding early events. Its immediate successor was the *Chronicle and Gazette*, the daily issue of which, when it appeared, was called the *News*, while the weekly still long retained in addition the old name of *Chronicle*; both issues being now merged into the *News and Times*,* the paper still retaining the Conservative policy of its progenitor. The *British Whig*, founded in 1832 by its enterprising first editor and proprietor, Dr. E. J. Barker, still maintains its place as a leading Liberal journal, with a large circulation and a fine establishment equipped with all modern improvements, its present owner and editor, E. J. B. Pense, M.P.P. for Kingston, being, as has been said, a grandson of the founder. There is also a weekly paper—the *Freeman*—but of entirely modern date.

Kingston, as has been already mentioned, possessed the first bank in Upper Canada, though that one did not long survive. It early became the site of the head office of the unfortunate Commercial Bank of the Midland District, and had an agency of the Bank of Upper Canada, which also came to an untimely end. It has long had, and still continues to have, agencies of the Merchants Bank, British North America, and Montreal, and now has branches of the newer Standard and Crown Banks, and the Bank of Commerce. It also long possessed two flourishing Building Societies, the *Ontario* and the *Frontenac*, but the former of these has recently ceased to exist. The leading insurance companies are, of course, well represented by active agencies.

*Recently became the "Standard."

*Another Kingston paper, the "Argus," a sort of free-lance weekly, was for a number of years conducted and edited by the late Dr. John Stewart with much characteristic originality. A paper called the "Herald" also lived for a time.

Sixty Years Ago.

But though Kingston is a fairly progressive business town, and employs in its industries a considerable body of operatives, she cannot be classed as a manufacturing or dinctively business city, notwithstanding the advantages of her local position, so hopefully defined by C. W. Cooper in 1856 as "the nearest Canadian port to the great Atlantic cities, the key to the upper lakes, the outlet of a valuable and extensive tract of country." The effect of the changes which years and material progress bring, cannot always be calculated in advance. The opening up of the county by railway traffic has so changed conditions that Cooper's list of advantages hardly counts in comparison with the disadvantage of being out of the direct line of railway travel. Though the Grand Trunk Railway found it necessary to meet the complaints and wishes of Kingstonians and of travellers generally by building a branch line into the city, the main body of traffic passes at a distance of at least two miles, while, in order to reach the line of the Canadian Pacific, it is necessary to take a branch line of the Kingston and Pembroke R. R. to Sharbot Lake. And as the commercial centre of the country has been ever moving farther west, Kingston, which can hardly be said to belong either to the east or the west, has been left in a sort of backwater, in spite of her fine harbour, her position at the meeting of lake and river, and her numerous and convenient wharves and docks.

A daily line of steamers does, indeed, still leave her wharves for the run down the St. Lawrence and up the lake, but the palmy days of the old "mail steamers" are gone, never to return. The modern R. & O. Line is used mainly by tourists anxious to "run the rapids" and thread the mazes of the "Thousand

The Story of Old Kingston.

Isles." There is still, however, a considerable amount of transhipment of grain, from the large lake vessels to the smaller ones fitted for the canals of the St. Lawrence. In 1855 Kingston possessed one elevator, and of late years two others of much larger capacity have been built, of such massive proportions as to be the dominating, though not very æsthetic, feature in the approach to Kingston by water. But the main channel of transport seems to be no longer the river, impeded by its rapids, or the often treacherous lake, but the long, straight iron lines, over which the "iron horse" unweariedly presses his swift, undeviating course.

But if Kingston seems not to have been predestined for a busy manufacturing centre, it has, as we have seen, attractions of its own, which are not less valuable assets, all things considered, than those which pertain to busy mills and bustling ports. Its advantages of situation; its quiet, tree-embowered streets, with their vistas of verdure; the broad cincture of blue water almost surrounding the gentle hill-slope that looks down on wide lake and winding river; its parks and open spaces; its tranquil halls of learning, and its tasteful churches, all promote its attractiveness as a residential city, in addition to the scholastic and academic advantages that make it an almost ideal university town.

As a summer resort, Kingston has also manifold charms—offering, from its facilities of water communication, a central point for pleasant excursions in various directions. Making Kingston his headquarters, the tourist may explore the pleasant pastoral scenery of the Bay of Quinté, with its early historical associations,—the waterfront of the old "Midland

Sixty Years Ago.

District;" may thread his way in steamer, skiff, canoe, sailing yacht or motor launch amid the mazes of the Thousand Islands; may direct his wandering course through the locks and picturesque windings of the Rideau Canal, or may penetrate by rail into the remoter wilds of the rugged County of Frontenac, stretching its mineral-bearing rocks to the banks of the foaming Madawaska. This region has already become an important mining one, and it is likely to become more so in the future as its natural riches become further developed, an end which will be promoted by two new smelting works (for iron and zinc) which are about to be established at Kingston. The townships bordering on Kingston and Pittsburg Townships—Storrington and Loughborough—contain many lovely bits of scenery about the pretty inland lakes abounding in that region, and are already becoming a favourite haunt of the holiday roamer. Wolfe and Amherst Islands (the latter originally named the Isle of Tanty, or Tonti, from La Salle's faithful lieutenant), as well as some smaller islands between them, can also supply pleasant summer quarters, cooled by the lake breezes. But the most popular summer resort of the Kingstonians is the Township of Pittsburg, on the opposite side of the Cataraqui River and bridge, with its pretty village of Barriefield, named after an early Commodore, which looks across at the old city, of which it enjoys a magnificent sunset view, and up at the grey Fort Henry crowning the adjoining hill, now only fit for a barracks, and happily not required for any other purpose; in token of which the masonry of its river wall is fast crumbling away. Just beyond the Fort hill, and opposite to the still picturesque Cedar Island, with its

The Story of Old Kingston.

now roofless Martello tower, lies the charming summer home of our veteran statesman, Sir Richard Cartwright; and all along the shore of the St. Lawrence, for five or six miles below, are scattered summer cottages or little camps or settlements, in which many citizens find holiday repose and change of scene from city sights and sounds. Some ten or twelve miles farther down, the Thousand Islands open their alluring labyrinths, and the number and variety of the summer abodes interspersed amid the bosky isles suggest a happy modern Arcady.

With such an environment as has here been very imperfectly outlined, Kingston may well be called "beautiful for situation," and her æsthetic advantages may yet be found to outweigh the more tangible material ones she has missed. May we not predict for our old Canadian town the enviable destiny of becoming, perchance, in the future a Canadian Weimar, the home of philosophers and sages, where the Arts and Muses may find a congenial abode, "far from the madding crowd," and the thought-dispersing distractions of a too conventional and ambitious modern life? Such a destiny, with its idealising and uplifting influences, would be worthy of her comparative antiquity, her traditions, and the character of her founders.

APPENDIX 1.

DECREE OF LOUIS XIV. GRANTING TO LA SALLE THE SEIGNIORY OF CATARAQUI.

The King having caused to be examined, in his Council, the proposals made by Robert Cavalier Sr. de La Salle, setting forth that, if it should please His Majesty to grant him, his heirs, successors and assigns the fort called Frontenac, situated in New France, with four leagues of adjacent country, the islands named Ganounkoesnot and Kaouenesgo, and the adjoining islets, with the right of hunting and fishing on said lands and in the lake called Ontario or Frontenac, and circumjacent rivers, the whole by title of Fief, Seignior and Justice, appeals from the Judges of which will be to the Lieutenant-General at Quebec, and the Government of said Fort Frontenac, and letters of *noblesse*, he would cause considerable property he possesses in this kingdom to be transported to the said country of New France, for the erection and establishment there of settlements, which may in the lapse of time contribute greatly to the augmentation of Colonies in said country. Said De La Salle offers to reimburse the sum of ten thousand livres, the amount expended for the construction of said Fort Frontenac, to keep in good order the said Fort and the Garrison necessary for the defence thereof, which cannot be less than that of the Fort of Montreal; to maintain twenty men during nine years for clearing the land which shall be conceded to him; and until he shall have a church built, to keep a Priest or Friar

to perform divine service and administer the Sacraments; which expenses, &c, the said La Salle will defray at his sole cost and charges, until there be established above the Long Sault called Garonouoy some individuals with similar grants to that he demands, in which case those who will have obtained said grants shall be bound to contribute to the said expenses in proportion to the lands which will be granted to them, and having heard the report of Sieur Colbert, Councillor of the King in his Royal Council, and Comptroller-General of Finances, His Majesty in Council has accepted and does accept the said De La Salle's offers, hath, in consequence, granted to him the propriety of the said Fort called Frontenac, and four leagues of adjacent country, computing at two thousand *toises* each league, along the lakes and rivers above and below said fort, and half a league, or one thousand *toises* inland; the islands named Ganounkoesnot and Kaounesgo, and the adjacent islands, with the right of hunting and fishing on said Lake Ontario and circumjacent rivers; the whole by title of Fief and in full Seigniority and Justice; on condition that he cause to be conveyed immediately to Canada all the effects he possesses in this Kingdom, which cannot be less than the sum of 10,000 livres in money or moveables; that he produce a certificate from Count de Frontenac, His Majesty's Lieutenant-General in said country; reimburse the sum of 10,000 livres expended in the construction of said Fort; put and maintain it in a good state of defence; pay and support the Garrison necessary to defend it, which is to be equal at least to that of Montreal; likewise maintain twenty men during two years to clear the land, who shall not be otherwise employed during that time; cause a

The Founding of Fort Frontenac.

church to be erected within the first six years of his grant, and meanwhile to support a Priest or Friar for the administration of the Sacraments; also induce the Indians to repair thither, give them settlements, and form villages there in society with the French, to whom he shall give part of said lands to be cleared, all which shall be cleared within the time and space of twenty years to be computed from the next, 1676, otherwise His Majesty shall be at liberty, at the expiration of said time, to dispose of the lands which will not have been cleared or improved. His Majesty wills that appeals from the Judges (to be appointed by the said De La Salle within the limits of the said country conceded by His Majesty), be to the Lieutenant-General of Quebec; and to that end His Majesty wills that all donatory and concessionary letters hereunto necessary be issued to the said De La Salle, together with those for the government of said Fort Frontenac, and letters of *noblesse* for him and his posterity."

Compiègne, May 11, 1675.

This old translation of the original decree is taken from a sketch of the early history of Kingston by W. George Draper, M.A., published in 1862, by James M. Creighton. In it, also, the name of Ontario is defined as "Great Lake," from the Huron:—*Iontare*, lake, and *Io*, great. *Toise* is the French word for fathom.

APPENDIX 2.

LIST OF THE MAYORS OF KINGSTON WHILE INCORPORATED AS A TOWN.

Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1838.
Henry Cassady, 1839.
Dr. James Sampson (three times), 1839, '40, '44.
John Counter (three times), 1841, '42, '43.
Thomas W. Robinson (twice), 1844, '45.
Dr. Robert McLean, 1846.

LIST OF MAYORS AFTER INCORPORATION AS A CITY, IN 1846.

John Counter (four times), 1846, '50, 52, 55.
Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1847.
William Ford, Jr., 1848.
Francis M. Hill (twice), 1849, '51.
O. S. Gildersleeve (four times), 1855, '56, '60, '61.
George Davidson, 1857.
John Flanigan, 1858.
Dr. O. S. Strange (twice), 1859, 60.
John Creighton (three times), 1863, '64, '65.
John Breden (three times), 1866, '67, 68.
William Robinson (twice), 1869, '70.
Archibald Livingston, 1871.
S. T. Drennan, 1872.
H. Cunningham, 1873.
Dr. Michael Sullivan (twice), 1874, '75.
Byron M. Britton, 1876.
John McKelvey, 1877.
John McIntyre, 1878.

List of Mayors of Kingston.

C. F. Gildersleeve, 1879.
Robert J. Carson, 1880.
E. J. B. Pense, 1881.
John Gaskin, 1882.
Charles Livingston, 1883.
Dr. James McCammon, 1884.
Edward H. Smythe, 1885.
John L. Whiting, 1886.
John Carson, 1887.
J. D. Thompson (twice), 1888, '89.
W. M. Drennan (twice), 1890, '91.
D. M. McIntyre, 1892.
N. C. Polson, 1893.
Dr. J. Herald, 1894.
Clark W. Wright, 1895.
Robert Elliot, 1896.
J. S. Skinner, 1897.
C. Livingston, 1898.
Dr. E. Ryan, 1899.
J. A. Minnes, 1900.
R. E. Kent, 1901.
J. M. Shaw, 1902.
Dr. J. H. Bell (twice), 1903, '04.
R. N. F. McFarlane, 1905.
J. McD. Mowat (twice), 1906, '07.
Dr. Arthur Ross, 1908.

In the cases where two names occur in the same year, one succeeded on the death of the other.

